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A Study of an Eighteenth Century Nobleman, His House, Household and Estate : Sir John Griffin Griffin, 4th Lord Howard de Walden, 1st Lord Braybrooke, of Audley End, Essex, 1719-1797.

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A STUDY OF AN EIGHTEENTH CENTURY NOBLEMAN,
HIS HOUSE, HOUSEHOLD AND ESTATE:
SIR JOHN GRIFFIN GRIFFIN,
4th LORD HOWARD DE WALDEN, 1st LORD BRAYBROOKE,
OF AUDLEY END, ESSEX, 1719-1797.

by

John Dewi Williams

Thesis submitted for the examination of Doctor of Philosophy
at the University of London

1974



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ABSTRACT.

In making a study of the roles of an eighteenth century nobleman, his house, household and estate, it seemed natural to divide the essay into these inter-related parts. The first part looks at Sir John in his setting, tracing his family background and early life, following his career as soldier and politician, his elevation to the peerage, his participation in county and local affairs, and his many sided relationships with members of his family, friends and acquaintances. It ends with an analysis of his financial resources which made his style of living possible. This also serves as a springboard from which to investigate his activities of consumption and investment. Part two summarises his work in restoring Audley End and its environs, and although primarily based on earlier research, incorporates some new material. It also includes a new section on the Town house. It was considered that if the aim of seeing one nobleman "in the round" was to be achieved, then this vitally important aspect of his stewardship should not be omitted. The third part examines the economy of a Georgian household as a unit of management, employment and consumption. It quantifies the main areas of expenditure, and relates the various departments to each other. Part four investigates Griffin's role as landowner and investor, and examines the nature and efficiency of his estate policy in terms of administration, development, and his participation in farming. The essay ends with an attempt to assess the quality of his stewardship and to estimate his significance in the history of Audley End. The thread of continuity running through all parts is, of course, the man himself, and it is to be hoped that the responsibility of Sir John's character in the changes of family fortune, is evident. Parts six, seven and eight contain the appendices, bibliography and illustrations.

CONDUCT OF RESEARCH.

The raison d'etre for this investigation is two-fold. Firstly, this study constitutes an attempt to follow up an earlier work¹ by making a much fuller and wider use of the Braybrooke Collection of documents deposited in the Essex Record Office at Chelmsford,² for that work concentrated almost exclusively on the restoration of Audley End in the second half of the eighteenth century. Secondly, as a consequence of the availability of estate and family records on a more general level during the past thirty years or so, we are reconsidering not only the significant "revolutions" of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, but also the many sided role of the ruling members of the landed group during this vital period in English history.³ It is generally accepted that the publication of Professor Habakkuk's article "English Landownership 1680-1740"⁴ in 1940 originated modern research in this field. This seminal work demonstrated the value of estate records and his subsequent writings sign-posted some of the directions in which further investigations should proceed. Collectively,⁵ the published researches of

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1. J.D. Williams, Audley End The Restoration of 1762-1797 (Chelmsford 1966): this work is an abridged and modified version of a thesis submitted for the M.A.degree of the University of Wales in 1964.
 2. See below
 3. "The social attitudes and economic responses of the landowners were obviously closely linked; together they played a decisive role in the pattern and timing of British industrialisation." J.T. Ward and R.G.Wilson, Land and Industry The Landed Estate and the Industrial Revolution (Newton Abbot 1971), 13.
 4. Econ. H.R., 2nd Series, X (Feb.1940) 2-18.
 5. My heavy debt to these scholars is reflected in footnotes throughout the essay: for a list of their works, see Bibliography.

Professors Habakkuk, Mingay, Spring, Thompson and others, have gone a long way towards filling what was described a decade ago as "a remarkable and serious weakness in our historiography".¹ These scholars have not only challenged the traditional² view of the ruling members of the landed group, but have also suggested that landowners played a significant part in the changes of the period. Although acknowledging that as a group they were not pioneers, various aspects of this new historiography have investigated the different roles of the landowner - as pioneer, investor or conspicuous consumer. It has been suggested that among the many virtues of eighteenth century England, the country "was fortunate also in her governing class!"³, and another scholar has commented that "through its managerial structure ownership of estates was translated into a way of life, and the landed interest exerted its most direct influence on the economy of the country as a whole".⁴ Even so, these scholars have emphasised that their work to date constitutes "like all history only more so, an interim report".⁵

This essay attempts to do for one nobleman, his house, household and estate, what Professors Mingay and Thompson in particular have done for the ruling members of this group in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries respectively. The subject of this essay is Sir John Griffin Griffin,⁶ 4th Lord Howard de Walden and 1st Lord Braybrooke, of Audley End,

1. G.E. Mingay, English Landed Society in the Eighteenth Century (1963), vii.

2. The traditional view is discussed below.

3. Mingay, op.cit., 283.

4. F.M.L. Thompson, English Landed Society in the Nineteenth Century (1963), 151-52.

5. Ibid., vii.

6. Although Griffin was elevated to the peerage, other than quoting, his name and not his titles will be used throughout this thesis.

Essex, a lesser known member of this group in the eighteenth century.¹ This investigation rests on the premise that he "must be seen from the inside" and that the "most fruitful path in this field is the detailed study of particular cases, based upon the family documents, where these are available."² Although not biographical this study hinges on the life of an individual, for it is the man himself who provides the thread of continuity throughout the main parts of the work. As such, it accepts, if only at face value, Dilthey's words that "everything human forms a document...the historic individual whose existence leaves a permanent mark, is worthy, in a higher sense, to live on in a biography".³ Not being unmindful of the particular difficulties that such a method brings forth in terms of establishing a proper balance between the person and the age in which he lived, between the member and the group to which he belonged, and remembering Namier's words, an attempt has been "to watch the individual ant without forgetting the ant heap".⁴

At macro level estate and family records provide the student with material which is at once both valuable and diverse. It can contribute towards a better understanding of our national history and to some extent it can reflect the impact of national events upon ordinary people. But such material is also interesting in itself. It can portray, for instance, the private and business transactions of the landed group in manor, estate, or domestic circles. Collected over the centuries, these archives have been passed on from one generation to the next, and

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1. He is mentioned in D.N.B. VIII, 670.
 2. H.J. Habakkuk, "Preface", xix, in Mary E. Finch, The Wealth of Five Northamptonshire Families 1540-1640 (1956).
 3. H.P. Rickman, Meaning in History (1961), 89-90.
 4. L.B. Namier, Crossroads of Power (1962), 6.

in a sense, they provide as much a thread of continuity as do the actual ownership of the estate and occupation of the house.

At micro level, and at certain times within the history of a family, there is, understandably, a serious imbalance in the nature of the evidence to survive, or indeed to have been recorded in the first instance. Such imbalance varies from family to family. On the one hand, an abundance of material touching upon aspects of estate and household administration, dictates considerable selectivity and quantification on the part of the student. On the other hand, a dearth of material relating to the more personal aspects of life, leave, regrettably, some unanswered questions. Likewise, although some of the evidence to survive appears to be of a trivial nature, that it was carefully preserved in the first place, might, perhaps, reflect something of the person with whom it was concerned.

The Braybrooke Collection¹ of documents was deposited by the 9th, and present, Lord Braybrooke at the Essex Record Office in July 1947. The catalogue alone contains some 200 pages. The material accumulated at Audley End consisted in the first place of the manorial documents and deeds of two estates, one in Essex and one in Berkshire. Secondly, also accumulated were the papers of eight families connected with the above estates, which became centred, through a number of inter-marriages at Audley End. In deciding upon the proper disposal of these records Lord Braybrooke divided the Collection, and they are now, according to their nature, deposited in five main repositories: the Berkshire Record Office, the Public Record Office, Trinity House, the University Library and Magdalene College, Cambridge, and finally at the Essex Record Office.

1. This Collection is catalogued E.R.O. D/DBy: all subsequent references will be D/DBy. For full details see Bibliography.

It will be with some of the records deposited in the Essex Record Office that this study will be primarily concerned, for as the title suggests, and as the declared aim indicates, this study is essentially concerned with one nobleman, his house, household and estate. The bulk of the evidence consulted relates not only to one family, but to one member of that family, who was in turn a member of one social group, and at a particular time and place. Valuable though estate and family evidence is, used uncritically, it can be no more than one man's view of himself. The correspondence in particular is subjective and even the house-building, household and estate administration records were all prepared with a view of pleasing the master of the establishment. On this score, although we may no longer see the past in terms of historical "facts" but of historical "evidence", the same basic question arises: if not whose "facts", certainly whose "evidence". Against this it has been stated that the regional historian "derives his authority from the closeness of contact - he has walked on the very fields named in the documents, traversed the streets and climbed the stairs of the very buildings".¹ To this can be added the cliché that no individual can live in a vacuum: in a sense the life of an individual is a microcosm of the period in which he lived. Through Griffin's varied experience one is reminded that he was caught up in the winning of Empire, with the working out of imperial problems, with radical reform, with the efflorescence of the arts, with changes in the economy and with life at more than one level at any one time. As a soldier, politician, member of the peerage, holder of both county and local offices, lay rector and lord of more than one manor, as well as being a member of both domestic and wider social

1. E.L. Jones & G.E. Minday (eds) Land, Labour and Population in the Industrial Revolution (1967), ix.

circles, engaged in extending and administering an estate, restoring and embellishing his Town house and country seat, laying out his park and pleasure grounds and administering two households, Griffin's activities were recorded in a wider range of evidence than that of the Braybrooke Collection. An attempt has been made to use some of this wider evidence, not only to provide additional information, but also to achieve perspective. Indeed, it is the experience gained from coming into contact with records relating to Parliament and municipal borough, church and manor, county and professional and business affairs, as well as estate and family records, that is, perhaps, the most important part of the exercise.

It has been well said that the study of history is a personal matter in which the activity is generally more important than the result. A limited investigation such as this cannot supply general conclusions about the group as a whole, but it is hoped that this modest study takes us one step nearer the "day the vast accumulations of estate records which lie in the offices of country houses and in the county muniment rooms will be made to yield up their secrets".¹ It is also hoped that this case study brings out the responsibility of personal character for changes in family fortune.

1. Mingay, op.cit., 16.

STRUCTURE.

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ABBREVIATIONS.

Add.Mss.	Additional Manuscripts.
Agric.Hist.	Agricultural History.
Agric.Hist.Rev.	Agricultural History Review.
Arch.Rev.	Architectural Review.
Berks.R.O.	Berkshire Record Office.
B.M.	British Museum.
Bucks.R.O.	Buckinghamshire Record Office.
Corp.Lond.R.O.	Corporation of London Record Office.
C.L.	Country Life.
D.N.B.	Dictionary of National Biography.
Econ.Hist.	Economic History.
Econ.Hist.Rev.	Economic History Review.
Econ.JNL.	Economic Journal.
E.R.O.	Essex Record Office.
Essex Rev.	Essex Review.
Explor.Entrepreneurial Hist.	Explorations in Entrepreneurial History.
G.M.	Gentleman's Magazine.
H.P.	History of Parliament.
Essex JNL.	Essex Journal.
Durham Univ.JNL.	Durham University Journal.
Business Hist.	Business History.
Hist.Studies.	Historical Studies.
Inst. Civ. Eng. Lib.	Institute of Civil Engineering Library.
Inter. Rev. Soc. Hist.	International Review of Social History.
JNL. Econ. Hist.	Journal of Economic History.
Northants R.O.	Northamptonshire Record Office.
Notts.Univ.Dept.Mss.	Nottingham University Department of Manuscripts.
P.R.O.	Public Record Office.
S.W. Bor.Offs.	Saffron Walden Borough Offices.
S.W. Mus.	Saffron Walden Museum.
S.W. Par.Church.	Saffron Walden Parish Church
Sheff.Cent.Lib.	Sheffield Central Library.
Soane Mus.	Soane Museum.
Surrey R.O.	Surrey Record Office.
Trans.Roy.Hist.Soc.	Transactions Royal Historical Society.
Trans.Shrop.Arch.Soc.	Transactions Shropshire Archaeological Society.
Trans.Thoroton Soc.	Transactions Thoroton Society.
V.C.H.	Victoria County History.
W.W.Mss.	Wentworth Woodhouse Manuscripts.

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PART I: AN EIGHTEENTH CENTURY NOBLEMAN.

CHAPTER I: FAMILY BACKGROUND.

John Griffin Griffin was born at Oundle, Northamptonshire, on 20 February, 1719.¹ He changed his surname from Whitwell to Griffin by Act of Parliament in 1749, was created 4th Lord Howard de Walden in 1784 and 1st Lord Braybrooke in 1788. Before his elevation to the peerage he was a member of Parliament for thirty five years. Following a military career, he saw active service for which he was made a Knight of the Bath and rose to the rank of Field Marshal. He became Lord Lieutenant and Vice Admiral of Essex, Recorder and Lay Rector of Saffron Walden, Lord of the Manors of Brooke and Chipping Walden, and Visitor of Magdalene College, Cambridge. He is known to have spent over £381,564, over half on financing improvements to his houses and estates before he died at Audley End in 1797, "full of years and earthly honours".² Viewed in this way, Griffin appears as a representative figure in the upper reaches of the landed ruling group of Hanoverian England. It is the purpose of this chapter, in tracing his family background and examining his early life, to show how he became a member of the upper reaches of landed society, for that he should become so, was not assured at the time of his birth.

It is generally accepted that not only was landed property the bedrock of eighteenth century society, but that this was also the period that saw the landed interest attain the pinnacle of its power. A modern

1. Oundle Parish Church: Register of Marriages, Baptisms and Burials, v.1, 1625-1732: he was baptised on 19 March, 1719. I have not documented the other facets of his life and career mentioned in this paragraph as they all appear below. See illustration 1.

2. S.W. Parish Church Register of Baptisms and Burials, 1794-1814: this was part of the tribute paid by the vicar, William Gretton: see Part V.

scholar has suggested that the structure of this society "had been shaped by landowners for landowners"¹, and the historian of this group for this period has written that landed society "dominated the constitution and the economy, and the permanence and stability of landed society was a vital factor in the stability of society as a whole".² Yet another scholar has seen this landed power as "a kind of penumbra", extending from a base of rentierdom and permeating the army, the church, the civil service, the professions and the universities. Rent rolls laid the foundations of social eminence in an area: landownership was the essential prerequisite of political power at all levels.³ It has been suggested that for this group, the eighteenth century represents a period of comparative calm, that is, when seen against the troubles of the seventeenth century on the one hand, and the subsequent tensions of the nineteenth century on the other. In short, a time in which this group remained virtually unchallenged during a period of comparative political stability and relative economic prosperity.

Essentially, their exalted position rested upon the principle that landed property was the basis of society. The victory of the landowners over the Crown at the Glorious Revolution not only brought this group into a position of power, but it also coincided with Locke's achievement in working out the philosophical implications of the concept of absolute property, that is, in finalising the transformation of medieval lordship

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1. Dorothy Marshall, English People in the Eighteenth Century (1965), 40.
 2. G.E. Mingay, English Landed Society in the Eighteenth Century (1963), 260. This view was recognised by William Marshall: "Landed property is the basis on which every other species of material property rests: on it, alone, mankind can be said to live, to move, and have their being". W. Marshall, On the Landed Property of England. An Elementary and Practical Treatise Containing The Purchase, The Improvement, and the Management of Landed Estates (1804), 1.
 3. W.L. Guttsman, The English Ruling Class (1969), 7.

into the modern unfettered ownership of land. The implications of this concept were far-reaching. Property was regarded as the raison d'être of government and of civilised society itself. For Locke,¹ property embraced life and liberty as well as estate. For the purpose of this study, perhaps the most important implication was the social ideal supported by this concept, that is, the ideal of the leisured gentleman. Gregory King's² yardstick of the possession of land as the measure of a man's importance in the society of his day, is still accepted as an accurate analysis. Indeed, a modern scholar has commented that the landowner "was distinguished from the rest not so much by the size of his income as by its unearned character; and that the rest paid him the unstinted tribute of admiration, envy and emulation. For the leisured gentleman was the ideal at which the whole of society aimed, and by which it measured its happiness and ambitions".³ But although this concept included those who were able to maintain themselves without recourse to manual labour, the completely leisured gentleman, in effect, meant the landed gentleman.

Griffin's father, William Whitwell, was a gentleman, but not the leisured type. Canon W. Smalley Law⁴ mentions the Whitwells as having come from Richmond, in Surrey, to Oundle, in 1626, although it is unlikely that this family of attorneys at law actually resided in Oundle as early as 1626, but probably migrated from Gretton, in the same county,

1. J. Locke, Two Treatises of Civil Government (Everyman, 1955), 180.

2. See G. King, The Natural and Political Observations upon the State and Condition of England (1696), ed. G. Barnell (1936).

3. H. Perkin, The Origins of Modern English Society 1780-1880 (1969), 55.

4. W. Smalley Law, Oundle's Story (1922), 78: see also, Northamptonshire V.C.H. 111, (1930) 85.

in the 1680s.¹ But although non-resident, the family might well have been active in Oundle earlier in the seventeenth century. Griffin's father was born at Richmond in 1690, also the son of William Whitwell, gentleman of Oundle, and Sophia Borsett, whom he had married in 1688.² He was educated at Oundle School and at St. John's College, Cambridge.³ In 1706 he was admitted to the Middle Temple, matriculated in the following year and was called to the Bar in 1712.⁴ He lived at the Berrystead, Oundle, from 1711 probably until 1728,⁵ at Warmington, near Oundle, until 1740, and died at Malborough Street, London, in 1755.

In 1717, William Whitwell, solicitor, had married Ann Griffin, of

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1. For this information I wish to thank Mr.P.I.King, Northampton County Archivist, and Mr.T. Litchfield who kindly gave me a copy of their short paper "Whitwell of Oundle". I have examined the Polebrook Hundred Court Rolls and Papers, N.R.O. 21.19, and Whitwell's name appears in a list of the resident of Oundle in October 1685. The index of the Oath of Supremacy, N.R.O.1673/148, shows that William Whitwell, gentleman of Gretton, took the oath of allegiance in 1673, and the Gretton Court Rolls in 1688, N.R.O.Number 119, records the Whitwells' activities in land transfer. There is also a letter written by William Whitwell from Oundle in 1687, see B.M.Add.MS. 29562 f372.
 2. J.Challenor, C.Smith (ed.), The Parish Registers of Richmond, Surrey (1903), 1, 1583-1720, 88: the entry mentions William, son of Mr. William Whitwell and Sophia his wife and is dated 15 June, 1690; and the Register of Burials and Baptisms, 1682-1759, and Marriages 1682-1751, S.R.O.P7/1/3.
 3. Alumni Cantabrigienses, Part 1 From the Earliest times to 1751, (1927), IV., 397.
 4. Unfortunately little else is known of his career. The above data is entered in the Admissions Register of The Honourable Society of the Middle Temple, for which information I am indebted to the Librarian and Keeper of the Records.
 5. There is, for example, a letter written by Anne Whitwell from Oundle dated 5 March, 1728, see D/DBY F30. The Longden Pedigree also mentions their continued residence until 1728.

Braybrooke, in the same county. She was born in 1695 and died in 1770, and was the youngest sister of Edward, the 3rd and last Lord Griffin, and Elizabeth, the second wife of the 1st Earl of Portsmouth. The family papers¹ show that the Griffins were first at Gumley in Leicestershire in 1200, became the owners of Braybrooke² in 1395, and that the direct descent continued down to 1569, when the property passed to an Edward Griffin, who had, in 1558, come into possession of Dingley,³ also in Northamptonshire. It was his great-great grandson, another Edward Griffin, who married Lady Essex Howard, daughter of James, 3rd Earl of Suffolk, and owner of Audley End, the significance of which match will soon become apparent. He was Treasurer to the Chamber of Charles II between 1679 and 1685, held the same position under James II, and was Lieutenant Colonel of the Duke of York's Regiment of the Foot Guards. James II created him Baron Griffin of Braybrooke in 1688,⁴ and as Colonel of His Majesty's Troop of Horse Guards, he followed his sovereign to France on his abdication in the same year. Outlawed, he was taken prisoner in an attempt to invade Scotland, for which crime he was tried and sentenced to death; reprieved by Anne, he died in the Tower in 1710. His son James died in 1715 without assuming the title,⁵ to be succeeded

1. D/DBy F55/2; F30; L33; Z41.
2. N. Pevsner, The Buildings of England: Northamptonshire (1961), 113-114.
3. Ibid, 178-181: see also, J.A. Gotch, The Old Halls and Manors of Northamptonshire (1936), 33-34.
4. G.E. Cockayne, (ed.), Complete Peerage (1892) 203. This creation was made only eight days before James II was declared to have abdicated, and although called in question, was finally allowed. It was also the last of the ten English peerages created by this monarch.
5. Ibid, 203.

by his son, Edward, the 3rd and last Lord Griffin, who died in 1742, and on whose death, his two sisters, Elizabeth, Lady Portsmouth, and Ann Whitwell, became his co-heirs.¹

Altogether, nine children were born into the Whitwell-Griffin marriage.² John apart, there were three other sons. Mathew, three times married, who eventually rose to the rank of Rear Admiral, and who died in 1789 and is buried at Exeter. William, born in 1723 and accidentally drowned while bathing in 1731, and George, unmarried, who died of a fever in the East Indies in 1750. There were five daughters. Elizabeth, the eldest child, born in 1717 and burnt to death in her house at Maddox Street, London, in 1776: she was unmarried. Ann, born in 1721, was one of the maids of honour to the Princess of Orange: she married Count Welderen, a Knight of the Teutonic Order, and she died at the Hague in 1796. Twin sisters, named Sophia and Mary, both died in infancy. The last daughter, also named Mary, was born in 1728 and in 1768 she married the Reverend William Parker, D.D., one of his Majesty's chaplains, and Rector of St. James' Westminster. As there was no issue

1. A number of points need making with regard to the 3rd Lord Griffin. Firstly, he was educated at Christ College, Oxford, and matriculated in 1710: see, Alumni Orolenses: The Members of the University of Oxford 1500-1714 (1888), 608. Secondly, he married a Mary Wellden, see D/DBY F55/2: she died in 1774 as an entry in the Gentleman Magazine mentions the Right Honourable Dowager Mary Griffin, "relict of the late Rt.Hon.Edward Griffin", see G.M., vol.44,142. Thirdly, he had an illegitimate son, also Edward, by a Bridgett Taylor, to whom, it is stated, he left his Dingley estate, see G.E.C., 203. He was educated at Lincoln College, Oxford, matriculating in 1742 at the age of twenty one, see Alumni Orolenses, 1715-1886, (1888), 566. Correspondence concerning portraits and the Griffin pedigree took place between this Edward Griffin and Sir John Griffin Griffin in the 1760's, see D/DBY F30. Finally, as well as having two sisters, the third Lord Griffin had a younger brother, James, born in 1697, but he died before 1742, as it was the two sisters, Elizabeth and Anne, who became the co-heirs, see illustration 2.

2. O.P.Ch., Register, 1, 1625-1732: the nine children were baptised at Oundle.

from any of the Whitwell children, it was this youngest daughter Mary, who, as the sole survivor, took the name and arms of Griffin by King's Licence, on the death of her eldest brother, John, in 1797, but died herself, without issue, in 1799.

This, then, is Griffin's family background. Of his early life precious little is known. He was born in Oundle but it is impossible to tell whether he followed his father's footsteps and attended the school there, as the register of admissions for the period 1699-1762 has not survived.¹ However, part of his education was received at Winchester, where he attended as a commoner between 1734 and 1736.² Again, unlike his father he does not appear to have gone up to one of the two universities, neither is there any evidence pointing to a grand tour or military academy. It would seem very likely that for the earlier years Griffin received his education at home, probably along with some of his brothers and sisters, from a private tutor or tutors and then went on to Winchester to complete his education and to gain the additional experience of living with other boys away from home. Although he was able to speak some French and had an interest in painting and objets d'art, the marks of the person who had made the grand tour, it is more likely that these characteristics would have resulted from his education in this country and also perhaps from spells of military duty in Europe.

The paucity of material for these early years makes it difficult to

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1. W.G. Walker, A History of the Oundle Schools (1956), 205. I have consulted the present Headmaster of the school, who confirms that the register in question is missing.
 2. I have consulted with the Archivist at Winchester College who kindly assures me that there is no further information on Griffin's career at the school. See also A.F. Leach, A History of Winchester College (1899).

be sure of the exact economic standing of the Whitwell family at this time. On his maternal side he was descended from an ancient family and one which had gained entry into the peerage in 1688. His great grandfather's marriage to Lady Essex Howard serves as an example of a certain mobility within the ruling group, and perhaps in both directions at once: upward for the Griffins and downward for the already impoverished Suffolk family.¹ In any event the changing political fortunes of the Stuarts had noticeable effects upon both families. By the beginning of the eighteenth century the Griffins were under economic stress.² A letter written by the 2nd Lord Griffin to his successor gives a more detailed picture of the family's affairs,³ and the 3rd Lord Griffin's weakness for the bottle resulted in much of the family property falling into the hands of an attorney named Peach. As early as 1717, he had sold the castle and manor of Braybrooke, which property had remained in the family since 1395.⁴ In 1728, his sister, Ann Whitwell, mentions his drinking bouts and his unreliable character in one of her

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1. For example, "An Act for Impowering the Honourable Charles Howard, Esq., to raise Money by Sale or Mortgage, of the Manors of Walden alias Chipping Walden, Brook Walden, and other Manors and Lands therein mentioned, for the Payment of the Debts of Charles William, late Earl of Suffolk and Bindon, deceas'd": D/DBy E5.
 2. Along with the Hattons and Comptons, the Griffins were the most prominent delinquent families in Northamptonshire, see H.J. Habakkuk, 'landowners and the Civil War', Econ.Hist.Rev., Second Series, XVII, No.1 (1965), 130-151. The Suffolk-Griffin match is an example of two families of known Stuart sympathies forming an alliance.
 3. D/DBy F30.
 4. This property was repurchased by Sir John Griffin Griffin in 1788, see Part IV. Also there is a copy of "An Act for Enabling James Griffin Esq., and Edward Griffin Son and Heir Apparent of the said James Griffin, to Raise Money to Pay the Debts of the said James Griffin, and to make a Settlement for the Benefit of themselves and their Family." At this time the Dingley property was worth £1,100 per annum and Braybrooke about £1,300 per annum: see D/DBy L6.

letters.¹ Indeed, the economic standing of the Griffin family at about this time might explain the match between Ann Griffin and William Whitwell, an example of a peer's daughter marrying a member of the professional group.²

But although it is clear that the Griffin fortunes were declining, one cannot be sure whether the Whitwell fortunes were rising, and if so, to what extent. It is difficult to tell whether William Whitwell is an example of the son of a successful professional family marrying the daughter of a member of the nobility, one way in which the ruling group maintained its supremacy and adapted itself to changing circumstances, for it is known that successful members of the legal profession got into landed society as quickly as they could.³ We know that the Whitwells were engaged in some land transactions in Oundle and its vicinity, and there is evidence to show that they were a respected professional family.⁴ The family possessed its own coat of arms⁵ and both William Whitwell senior and junior lived at the Berrystead⁶ in Oundle. By no means pretentious,

1. D/DBy F30.
2. Professor Habakkuk has stated that for "some royalists the real cost of the Civil Wars was poor marriages for their daughters", see H.J. Habakkuk, "Marriage Settlements in the Eighteenth Century", Trans.Roy.Hist.Soc., XXXII (1950), 19, fn.1. However, Elizabeth Griffin's marriage portion was quite considerable, as is evidenced by her first husband's will; Be.R.O. D/EN F21.
3. R. Robson, The Attorney in Eighteenth Century England (Cambridge 1959), 135.
4. Walker, Oundle Schools, 210: he mentions the Whitwells as having given the parish church its oldest surviving set of communion plate and describes them along with other local gentlemen as being "of undoubted reputation".
5. Northants. V.C.H., 111, 86.
6. Ibid, 86; Pevsner, Northants, 343. The house was built in the early eighteenth century and is set back from the present road and it replaced an earlier Berrystead. It has seven bays and is two storeys high.

this house would seem to be in keeping with the status of a professional family at that time. It was here that the nine children of the Whitwell-Griffin marriage were born, and it might well be that William Whitwell junior combined other business alongside his professional work.¹ It is clear that although this marriage brought the Whitwells closer to the landed interest, nothing in Griffin's early life suggested that he would one day become a member of the English peerage.

But shortly after embarking upon a military career, the course of his life took a different turn, and what follows confirms the view that a "man might be merely the eldest in the female line of a minor gentle family, yet end his life as a titled magnate or even a peer".² It has been suggested that it was often the death of an uncle or a cousin rather than a father, brother or grandfather which required that the younger branch should move to the family seat. It was three deaths and a provident marriage in fairly rapid succession that together proved to be the factors that transformed Griffin's circumstances. This experience serves as a token of the limited mobility within the ruling group and also confirms the complicated nature of the rise of some families, underlying in this instance, the two-stage character of the rise: firstly from the professional ranks into landed society; and secondly, through the next generation into the peerage itself. In this instance the downward flow of a nobleman's daughter was compensated for by the upward flow of the eldest son born into that marriage. Griffin's

1. D/DBy F30. The Hon. William Hervey recorded that Griffin's father had been left an estate in Northamptonshire, which he sold, but lost the purchase money in the South Sea scheme, see S.H.A. Hervey, Journals of the Hon. William Hervey, ... 1755-1814 (Bury St. Edmunds, 1906), 331.

2. P. Leslett, The World we have lost (1965), 48.

experience also supports the view that the very term 'social standing' is ambiguous, other than to allow that he belonged to the ruling group.¹

A closer consideration of the factors responsible for changing the course of Griffin's life shows that a major part was played by his aunt, Elizabeth, his mother and the 3rd Lord Griffin's sister. Widowed by the death of her first husband, Henry Grey or Neville,² of Billingbear, Berkshire, she re-married. Childless from her first marriage she had been made sole executrix, and Grey's estate had been left in trust for her life,³ and there is evidence to show that she used her favourable position to help her nephew.⁴ In 1741 she married John Wallop, Lord Lymington, who was created 1st Earl of Portsmouth in 1743.⁵ As well as giving Griffin's aunt a title, this judicious marriage also provided Griffin himself with a patron, as there were no children born into this marriage either.⁶ In 1742, Edward the 3rd and last Lord Griffin died, and Ann Whitwell and Elizabeth Countess of Portsmouth became his co-heirs: the male line had broken, and of the two sisters, one was childless.⁷

1. Sir L. Namier & J. Brooke, The History of Parliament The House of Commons 1754-1790 (1904) v.1, 49.

2. See D.N.B. XIV, 258, for this family.

3. Berks R.O. D/EN F21.

4. See Chapter 6.

5. See chapter 3.

6. The Earl did have children from his first marriage.

7. What property remained at this time is difficult to tell. The third Lord left what was left of his property to his illegitimate son, Edward, who was only in possession of it for a short time, before he was forced to part with it to his lawyer, Thomas Peach, who, in 1770, left it to a Mr. Hungerford; see D/DBY Z41. A letter from Robert Palmer to Sir John Griffin Griffin in July 1761 indicates that enquiries had been made on the title of the Griffin estates. Palmer gave it as his opinion that although Lady Portsmouth and Anne Whitwell were heirs at law, after such a long period since the last Lord Griffin's death, they would not prevail in obtaining the estate, as they would have to set aside the 3rd Lord Griffin's will: See D/DBY F48.

But more was to follow. The link between the Griffin and Suffolk families through the marriage of the 1st Lord Griffin and Lady Essex Howard, daughter of the 3rd Earl of Suffolk and owner of Audley End, took on a new meaning after the death of the 10th and last Earl of Suffolk in 1745, when the Suffolk titles passed to the 4th Earl of Berkshire, the great grandson of the 2nd Earl of Suffolk.¹ The estate, as a result of a settlement made by the 7th Earl of Suffolk in 1721 passed to Thomas, Lord Effingham, who took possession of both house and estate. However, this settlement was challenged on the grounds that the 3rd Earl of Suffolk had made a settlement in 1687, stipulating that in the event of there being no male heirs of himself or his brothers, the 4th and 5th earls, there should be a remainder in fee to himself, which meant that the 7th Earl, who was a grandson of the 5th Earl, was only a tenant for life, and as such had no power to create an entail. Thus, the Griffin-Suffolk marriage of 1688 was to have far reaching consequences when the Audley End estate was claimed by the three descendants of the 3rd Earl of Suffolk, namely, Elizabeth, Countess of Portsmouth, her sister, Ann Whitwell, and Lord Hervey, later to become the 2nd Earl of Bristol.² In 1747, a decree in Chancery favoured the three claimants, but the house and park were excluded because they had been the property of the Crown³ when the 1687 settlement had been made. But Lady Portsmouth's ambitions had been awakened, and by 1751 she purchased the house from Lord Effingham. In the meantime, John Griffin Whitwell, had, by Act of Parliament, in 1749, changed his natural name and arms to those

1. The titles have continued in his descendants.

2. D/DBy T10/2: see Part IV.

3. Audley End was a royal palace between 1666-1701.

of Griffin, and in so doing had become the heir-general to that family. As a result he was immediately given her share of the Essex estates, and on her death in 1762 he inherited Audley End house and was the principal beneficiary under her will.¹

Inheritance and marriage had, in less than a decade, combined to bring about a profound change in Griffin's prospects. His experience would seem to confirm the view expressed by Professor Mingay that "marriage and inheritance were the most prominent factors in the rise and prominence of the families."² But one must also emphasise the "role that was played by luck in deciding who did and who did not inherit property".³ As Mr. Clay has stated, in that age untimely deaths were only too frequent, and inheritances were both lost and gained in this way: one family's bad luck was another's good luck. Furthermore, it might be women, not necessarily heiresses at the time of their marriages, who, as a result of a death or two, would be the means whereby their husbands or descendants acquired possessions. It was in this way that sons with no great expectations of succeeding to substantial properties came to inherit the estates of more substantial families. This episode also confirms the argument for the rapid turnover of landed families at all levels: survival in the male line for more than a century or two was exceptional. Mr. Hollingworth has shown that in the later seventeenth century and early Hanoverian period, due to a biological failure on the part of landowners, more families were dying

1. The extent of Griffin's debt to his aunt is made clear in several parts of this work.

2. Mingay, op.cit., 78.

3. C. Clay, "Marriage, Inheritance, and the Rise of Large Estates in England, 1660-1815", Econ.Hist.Rev. Second Series, XXI, No.3, (December 1968), 505.

out in the male line and more estates were passing to heiresses or collateral relatives.¹ And Mr. Clay has argued that land changing hands by means of female or indirect inheritance is the explanation of the prominence of marriage and inheritance in so many landowning families in this period.²

Indeed, it is to his female relatives, his mother and aunt, but particularly to his aunt, that Griffin owed his much improved fortunes. His debt to Elizabeth, Countess of Portsmouth cannot be overestimated. Childless herself, this strong minded and ambitious lady had no small part in deciding upon what course her nephew's life should proceed. It is impossible to be precise about the exact nature of their relationship, but it is not unreasonable to suggest that without her kindness, aid and influence, his life would almost certainly have been very different. He would not have inherited Audley End house and its estate, nor would he have been able to successfully claim the Barony of Howard de Walden. It is also doubtful whether he would have been able to pursue such a successful military career, or whether he could have entered Parliament as easily as he did, if at all. That he himself was conscious of the immense debt he owed his aunt is expressed in a letter³ he wrote on her death in 1762:

I have just suffer'd ye loss of ye best Friend man
was ever bless'd with, by ye Death of Lady Portsmouth.

A more tangible form of his appreciation manifested itself in the erection of an obelisk designed by Adam, and placed on a hill north of

1. T.H. Hollinsworth, The Demography of the British Peerage (1965), 29-51.

2. Clay, op.cit., 517.

3. D/DBY C8/24.

the house and inscribed in memory of the Countess of Portsmouth. His indebtedness to both aunt and mother is also emphasised by three of the many portraits that adorn the saloon at Audley End. Their full length portraits, one on either side of Griffin himself, perhaps, above all the other portraits representing his predecessors in title, are the ones that he had most in mind when compiling his inscription "to commemorate those through whom with gratitude he holds these possessions".¹

Finally, two other events need to be recorded at this juncture. In March 1749 Griffin married and in November of the same year he was elected member of Parliament for Andover.² But before he was ever a politician, Griffin was, and indeed, in many ways remained, a soldier, and it is in that light that we will, in following his career, firstly consider him.

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1. These aspects are discussed in Part II.
 2. Both these events are discussed below.

CHAPTER 2 : PROFESSIONAL CAREER.*

Griffin began his army career as a twenty year old Ensign in 1739: by 1796, at the age of seventy seven, he had attained the rank of Field Marshal. During these fifty seven years he saw active service in the Austrian and Seven Years' Wars and for his part in the latter he was made a Knight of the Bath. He was, at different times, colonel of four regiments, and he continued to show a keen interest in military affairs throughout his life. His army and regimental promotions and the accompanying correspondence have all been carefully preserved. This analysis of his career is based on the following criteria: his army promotions; active service; applications for colonelcies and governorships; and his professional duties.

When he embarked upon an army career in 1739 the course that his life should subsequently follow had not yet taken shape and there was no indication that he would one day assume two titles and live in a house that had at one time been a royal palace. It is not possible to give precise reasons for the choice of the army as a career. The economic standing of his family has been touched upon and to this can be added that his brother Mathew entered the navy and his brother William might well have entered the world of commerce as he died in Calcutta in the East Indies. It is possible that Griffin's choice was in some measure governed by a desire to follow in the footsteps of his maternal great-grandfather, and that he did not follow his father and paternal grandfather's profession might suggest that he was not of a studious disposition.

* I wish to thank Commander Michael Godfrey, R.N., at one time on the staff of the P.R.O. for his helpful guidance.

Further, it was widely recognised that service in the army was one way of learning life and seeing a little of the world: a completion of one's education and at the same time a preparation for the tasks that might lie ahead. In any event, in the light of his subsequent career, the choice might well have been a deliberate one.

On 16 July, 1739, he was appointed as Ensign in the Third Regiment of the Foot Guards. Unlike the potential naval officer the army counterpart received no formal training before being commissioned, his trade was usually learnt after joining the regiment.¹ Under the terms of the appointment he was "carefully and diligently to discharge the Duty...by Exercising and Weldisciplining both the Inferior Officers and Soldiers of that Company".² The command of a company of Foot Guards or their equivalent in the Household Cavalry was perhaps the most coveted appointment among junior officers. Griffin went some way towards achieving this when in 1744 he was appointed Lieutenant of the Third Foot³ and three years later Captain, also taking the rank of Lieutenant Colonel of the Foot.⁴ His experience would seem to confirm the view that a young man with connections might look forward to being lieutenant colonel before he was thirty.⁵ Professional advancement was made easier for those with money and commissions were bought and

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1. It has been suggested that the Army did not achieve official recognition until 1755 when the first of the continuous series of Army Lists was published. See, C. Barnett, Britain and Her Army 1509-1970. A Military, Political and Social Survey (1970), 166.
 2. D/DBy 09/1. See also Army List, 1797.
 3. D/DBy 09/2; 17 March.
 4. D/DBy 09/3; 18 February.
 5. Namier & Brooke, op.cit., 1, 138.

sold like shares on the exchange¹, and the purchase system enabled men of good family to gain rapid promotion in the junior ranks to the detriment of more experienced men with emptier purses and without interest. Although promotion was slower in the upper ranks it was based on seniority and not efficiency.

In May 1756 he was made Aide de Camp² to the King, and in the same month two years later he was made Major of the Third Regiment of the Foot Guards and was to be their Captain.³ On 3 May, 1760, Lord Barrington⁴ at the War Office informed him that his Majesty "has been pleased to appoint you to serve as a Major General in Germany with one Aide de Camp; you are therefore to obey Such Orders as you shall receive from his Majesty, the Commander in Chief, or any other your Superior Officer". By January 1761 he was also Lieutenant General of the Forces,⁵ but he had to wait until April 1778 before he was appointed General.⁶ Finally, in July 1796,⁷ he attained the top rung of the army ladder when he became Field Marshal. The old soldier, who had pursued an army career since his twentieth year, was rewarded for his "prudence, courage and loyalty". This final promotion came some eighteen years after his

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1. E. Robinson, 'Purchase and Promotion in the British Army in the Eighteenth Century', History (February & June, 1951), XXXVI, 57-72. The same scholar also shows that by royal warrant in 1765 commissions cost £400 for an ensign; £550 for a lieutenant; £800 for a captain-lieutenant with rank of captain; £1,500 for a lieutenant-colonel.
 2. D/DBy 09/4; 29 May.
 3. D/DBy 09/5; 2 May, and D/DBy 09/7; 25 June.
 4. D/DBy C8/16; and D/DBy 09/8.
 5. D/DBy 09/11; 19 January; he received this commission by proxy.
 6. D/DBy 09/13.
 7. D/DBy 09/15. He became the Army's eighteenth field marshal. See, W.C. Rundle, The Baton An Historical Study of the Marshalate (1950).

previous advancement and some thirty five years since last seeing active service.

Griffin saw active service very soon after joining the army when the Austrian War of Succession occasioned the embarkation of his regiment abroad. The First and Third Foot Guards were involved in some of the campaigns and although only participating in the last stages they protected the vulnerable rear of George II's army at Dettingen in 1743¹, and were engaged, although not heavily, in the battle of Lauffeld in 1747². Griffin was described as being amongst the "principal officers", and served in Flanders under the command of the Duke of Cumberland until the peace treaty was concluded in 1748.³

It was during the course of the Seven Years' War that he saw more active service and also distinguished himself. He served in two of Pitt's "sea-borne diversions"⁴ at St. Malo and St. Cast in 1758, and his conduct on the second occasion met with his Majesty's "entire Approbation".⁵ In 1759 he joined Prince Ferdinand's army in Germany, and a number of accounts illustrate the part played by the regiments with which he was associated during these years. He commanded the Fiftieth Foot from 24 October, 1759, until 5 May, 1760, but this regiment⁶ did not take part

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1. K. Briant, Fighting with the Guards (1960), 83-88.
 2. These regiments had been withdrawn from the Low Countries between Dettingen and Lauffeld to help put down the Jacobite Rebellion of 1745.
 3. G.M. (1747), 45: See also M.A. Thomson, 'The War of the Austrian Succession' in The Cambridge Modern History vol.VII The Old Regime 1713-63, J.O.Lindsay (ed). (Cambridge 1957), 416-440.
 4. Barnett, op.cit., 204.
 5. B.M.Add.Ms.32886 f25.
 6. Col.Fyler, The History of the 50 (or Queen's Own) Regiment From the earliest date to the year 1881 (1895), 19-48.

until after the battle of Minden. It arrived in Germany in June 1760, and joined with Prince Ferdinand on the 20th of that month. As Carr had succeeded to the command of the Fiftieth Foot in May, Griffin was engaged during these months with a number of squadrons in his charge and on 9 July was sent forward to help secure Saxenhausen. On 10 July, the Hereditary Prince and Griffin's forces marched to Corbach to find that the enemy had taken possession of the heights. After an abortive attempt to overcome the enemy they were ordered to retreat. This proved disastrous as the enemy were present in superior numbers. An extract from an official letter written by Prince Ferdinand and dated 11 July portrays Griffin's role: "General Count de Kilmansegge greatly distinguished himself in this affair, as well as Major General Griffin, with the two English battalions".¹ He continued to see some heavy fighting and commenting upon the Warbourg campaign of 31 July, The London Gazette of 19 August, reported that of Griffin's squadron six privates were killed and thirty three wounded.²

The other regiment with which he was associated in war time was the Thirty Third Foot.³ The official historian of this regiment has written that Griffin "came to the 33 with a distinguished record, having served with the Allies in the Netherlands and Germany"⁴. On 15 May, the

1. Ibid, 22.

2. London Gazette, 19 August, 1760.

3. A. Lee, History of the Thirty Third Foot (1922), 70-84. This regiment had received orders to embark for Germany in January 1760, but their execution had been delayed due to the affair leading up to the court martial of their colonel, Lord Charles Hay. By 1 May Hay was dead and Griffin had succeeded him. This also explains my treatment of Griffin's part in some of the campaigns below.

4. Lee, op.cit., 72. See also E. Robinson, 'The Seven Years War' in The Cambridge Modern History, op.cit., 465-487.

regiment left Gravesend and landed at Gurtendorff a week later having escaped a violent storm. Along with two other regiments it joined Prince Ferdinand at Fritzlar. The evidence associated with this regiment indicates that Griffin re-enforced the Hereditary Prince at Saxenhausen but superior numbers of French forced them to fall back although the regiments concerned acquitted themselves with remarkable courage. This regiment was also with the Prince at Warbourg during which campaign it was "so placed as to bear the brunt of the stubborn and desperate encounter, but neither they nor those with them gave way, although there was the prospect of annihilation".¹ This battle caused havoc in the French ranks.

The Zierenberg campaign is described by the regimental historian as an "amazing" one because the town and garrison were captured by the Allied troops rushing forward with bayonets fixed on empty muskets. It was here, at night,² that Griffin received a bayonet wound, described as serious³ in one account and as slight in another:

General Griffin, who went into the town with the Prince by another gate, at the head of Kingsley's Regiment, received a thrust in the breast with a bayonet (as is Supposed) from one of his own people, upon hearing him talk French to a soldier he had seized, and who would not quit his firelock; but the wound proved a slight one....

The behaviour of the officers and bravery of the troops upon this occasion deserves the highest commendation".⁴

1. Ibid, 74.

2. R. Savory, His Britannic Majesty's Army in Germany During the Seven Years War (1966), 253, fn.3.

3. Lee, op.cit., 76.

4. Ferdinand, Duke of Brunswick, The Operations of the Allied Army under the command of his Serene Highness Prince Ferdinand, Duke of Brunswick and Luneburg...beginning in the year 1757 and ending in the year 1762 (1764), 170.

Griffin recorded his own impressions of this battle in a letter written at Warbourg to Lord Northumberland.¹ Firstly, it was his opinion that the victory had been achieved as the result of a plan "excellently well concerted" by the Hereditary Prince and "Happily executed" by the British troops. Secondly, he reported in glowing terms on the conduct of a junior officer, a Captain Grey, who had distinguished himself in the action. The officer in question had behaved with precision and firmness "as in such Circumstances would be thought almost past Belief". Grey had been the first man into the town and he had let in the Grenadier Guards. Although with fewer men he had seized a Brigadier General Nottoman and had made him his prisoner: his example had been followed by the men and the enemy had capitulated immediately. Griffin reported that Grey's use of his prisoner had been soldierlike and sensible: he had kept him at his side and whenever he had met the enemy he had instructed his prisoner to order them to surrender. It was Griffin's opinion that Captain Grey's conduct "must always do him Honour and make his Friends happy. They are such too that I make no Doubt when properly represented will recommend Him to his Majesty's Favour, who is upon all occasions ready to reward the brave and the diligent". As a senior officer Griffin recommended Grey as an excellent officer who had proved himself in hazardous and difficult circumstances, and he expressed the hope that he would be justly rewarded. But thirdly, as well as portraying Griffin as a senior officer and his competency in making a professional judgement on a fellow officer, the report was, no doubt, intended to serve more than Grey's interest. For Griffin was also attempting to promote his own career, and his emphasis

1. B.M.Add.Ms.32912 f.453: this letter was written in September 1760.

on such qualities as bravery and diligence and his mention of proper representation to his Majesty, were reminders of his own nearness to the action and to his own contributions in these campaigns.

Indeed, he was wounded in the following campaign at Wesel and Lennox took his place "in the quarter where the fiercest fighting raged" and "when the day was over, the 33 were reported as having displayed signal intrepidity".¹ At the battle of Camperdown fought on 15 October, 1760, under the command of the Prince of Brunswick, Griffin received a severe gunshot wound above the knee which totally disabled him for several months and obliged him to return to England.² Another account of these campaigns describes how the "infantry's casualties in officers had been heavy, and the rout must have been difficult to stop. The infection of panic had to be seen to be believed, and superhuman efforts were needed to stop it", and a footnote adds that "Griffin was wounded trying to stop the rout. This was his second wound in six weeks. He was invalided to England".³ At the end of the war the Thirty Third Foot returned to this country "a battered and wayworn regiment, with a record of bravery and distinguished service of which they might well be proud".⁴ A modern scholar commenting on the army purchase system has stated that during the long, hard campaigns officers flocked home and "by a process of natural selection this left behind at the seat of war the able and professionally keen".⁵ Falling into this latter category, Griffin, no doubt, would have shared the pride of his regiment's fine record as indeed he bore the marks of close combat.

1. Lee, op.cit., 76.

2. Savory, op.cit., 213, fn.4.

3. Ibid, 272-73; see also, G.M. (1760), 489.

4. Lee, op.cit., 84.

5. Barnett, op.cit., 185.

On the question of his wound and after consultation with surgeons Griffin requested that his situation be represented to the King. It was his bad health that prevented him from serving in the ensuing campaign and he intimated that "I am really distress'd about it...but y' Lordship will allow that in Justice to the Service, and to myself It will ill become me, to undertake what there's no Probability of my being able to perform".¹ It transpired that the King had expressed concern for his health and Bute identified himself "for the recovery of a Gallant officer".² A letter from Lord Ligonier also mentions his Majesty's concern over the "great loss to His Service in Germany to find you in the Situation You described yourself and grants Your Request".³ It would appear that Griffin was held in no little esteem and that his disability was viewed as a genuine loss to war efforts at that time. But there might also have been an ulterior, if justified, motive for his drawing further attention to his more recent war experiences.

Griffin had already been angling and somewhat persistently for the award of Knight of the Bath, usually reserved for those who had served the State in a number of fields, including the armed services.⁴ In a

1. D/DBy C8/11; probably to Bute.

2. D/DBy C8/15.

3. D/DBy C8/22: Ligonier was at different times Master General of the Ordnance and Commander in Chief, see R. Whitworth, Field Marshal Lord Ligonier: A Study of the British Army 1702-1770 (Oxford 1958).

4. J.C. Risk, The History of the Order of the Bath and its Insignia (1972). Of ancient origin, the Order was revived and remodelled by George I, who by statute dated 18 May, 1725, declared that the Order should consist of the Sovereign, a great master and thirty six companions: it was further enlarged and remodelled in 1815.

letter of 26 November, 1758,¹ he solicited the Duke of Newcastle's help in securing "His Majesty's Royal Approbation of my Services". It transpired that Newcastle had already told him of the King's approval of his conduct at St. Cast. If Newcastle would be so kind "to take Me under your Protection, and to recommend me for the Favour I solicit, It would be done without Hesitation from his Majesty". In a letter of 17 June, 1759, his tone had become more urgent.²

Nothing but my Ambition of having a publick Testimony of his Majesty's Approbation of my Conduct last Year...should ever make me so solicitous and troublesome: It is not my Lord from any Doubt I have of obtaining the Honour that You have been so kind to intend, and undertake for me: nor do I presume to ask why, for undoubtedly your Grace has very good Reasons for Having thus postpon'd It: but I own if it goes on any further, when It does come, It will carry more the appearance of an Ornament of Vanity, than any Thing Else, wheras if it is done just now, when his Majesty has been pleas'd to distinguish Others for their Services, It will be seen and known why the King has thus honour'd me. I must therefore request your Grace that you do me the Honour to propose It to the King the first time that you go into his Majesty...".

When Newcastle was not forthcoming, undaunted, but unsuccessfully, he tried the Elder Pitt. He continued to contend that should the mark of distinction be made at another time, it "would never have, this Effect, nor should I indeed feel any Satisfaction in it".³

* In his letters to both men in 1760, his fulsome phrasing, characteristic of the period, fails to check a desire which was approaching the point of desperation. In February⁴ he reminded Newcastle of what had already passed between them when the Duke had shown himself to be "kinder

1. B.M.Add.Ms. 32886 f.25.

2. B.M.Add.Ms. 32892 f.129.

3. P.R.O.30/8/38; 20 August, 1759.

4. B.M.Add.Ms. 32902 f.74.

and more gracious to me than anybody" and had been pleased to "tell me of Expressions which his Majesty made use of to You on my Acc't: that I should blush to repeat". In March¹ he further reminded the Duke that "ye Red Ribbon has already been twice in my family". By November² he was writing to Pitt and among other points emphasised that statesman's readiness to protect any officer who "exerts his utmost Endeavour in ye Discharge of his Duty (among which Number I shall not I hope be thought vain to rank Myself)". His wound at that time did not permit him even to attempt a personal confrontation for "it has been my good Fortune this Campaign to have been engag'd in three different Affairs (more than fell to ye Share of any other General Officer in the whole Army) and to have I confess more publick and private Thanks for Each from their S.H.Prince Ferdinand and the Hereditary Prince (under whose Orders I was in All of Them) than I shall ever think I deserve: add to This, tho' I claim no Merit from That, that I was wounded in the Two last of Them". A similar letter was sent to Newcastle³.

However, it was through Bute that Griffin finally met with success and in "the days when George III refused Bute nothing".⁴ On 23 March, 1761, his ambition to wear the Red Ribbon was realised and he would have been doubly gratified in gaining an honour that had also been enjoyed by two of his forebears.⁵ In answer to his request that he might with

1. B.M.Add.Ms. 32904 f.62.

2. P.R.O.30/8/38.

3. B.M.Add.Ms.32915 f.192; undated, this was probably in 1760. Newcastle also approached Griffin's patron, The Earl of Portsmouth in September 1760, see B.M.Add.Ms.32912, f.193.

4. Namier & Brooke, op.cit. v.1, 103.

5. J. Haydn, The Book of Dignities (1894, 2nd ed.), 765. His success is also recorded in the Calendar of Home Office Papers George III, 1760 (25 Oct.-1765). (ed.) J. Redington (1878), 130.

propriety wait on the King on crutches to receive the Order, Bute affirmed that an officer of his "Character and in his situation can never offend his Majesty, by carrying the honourable marks of service into the Royal Presence".¹ On Tuesday, 26 May, Griffin was duly installed in the Henry VIII Chapel at Windsor.² His success enabled him to attend George III's coronation on 22 September in the full habit of the Order of the Bath at the Court of Requests at Westminster, and his impressions of this event are recorded in a memorandum he took on the request of some of the oldest members of the Knights of the Bath.³

This episode demonstrates the importance that Griffin attached to securing recognition for services rendered to his country in war. It also reveals his unflagging determination, or blatant persistence, to achieve his ambition. Fully conversant with the methods of realising his aspirations, by continually importuning the King's ministers, it serves to confirm the view that any addition to personal title counted for much. In his several applications Griffin had been at great pains to show that it was a "publick mark of his Majesty's approbation"⁴ that he was so desirous of achieving. That is, to proclaim to his friends and to the world at large that in his chosen profession, which he clearly took seriously, he had met with deserved success.

But for senior officers the plum appointments were colonelcies of regiments and governorships of forts. Although strictly speaking these were military appointments, political considerations, especially in the

1. D/DBy C8/14.

2. G.M. (1761), 236.

3. D/DBy C8/23.

4. B.M.Add.Ms.32892, f.129.

case of army officers who were also members of Parliament, entered into them.¹ It is generally agreed that an interest in obtaining a colonelcy or a governorship usually indicated that the applicant looked upon the army as his first profession. Griffin belonged to the 43 per cent of those soldier-members who did so.² Altogether, and at different times, he was colonel of four regiments. Between 1759 to 1760 of the Fiftieth Foot³; from 1760 to 1766 the Thirty Third Foot⁴; the First Troop horse Grenadier Guards between 1766 to 1788⁵; and finally, the Fourth Dragoons from 1788 to 1797.⁶ To obtain a colonelcy "both powerful and persistent political influence was indispensable in such matters".⁷ Having gained a regiment the colonel almost looked upon it as his private property, and some of the regiments were in fact known by the name of their colonels and not by their official numbers. Some regiments were more desirable than others but all were looked upon by their colonels as a source of income.⁸

1. For example, those military members to oppose government could not expect to get a regiment or a governorship or promotion to a more lucrative appointment. Although towards the end of the period it was understood that an officer voting against the government would not be dismissed from strictly military appointments, it did not necessarily follow that he would not lose promotion in the army.

2. See, 'Army Officers', 138-143 in Namier & Brooke, op.cit.

3. D/DBy 09/6.

4. D/DBy 09/9 and 09/10.

5. D/DBy 09/12.

6. D/DBy 09/14.

7. E. Hughes, North Country Life in the Eighteenth Century The North East 1700-1750 (1952), 91.

8. See chapter 6.

It was during his colonelcy of the Thirty Third Foot and after he had been invalided out of active service and after he had been made Knight of the Bath that Griffin gave serious attention to try and promote this aspect of his career. In September 1765¹ he corresponded with Rockingham, at that time First Lord of the Treasury, over an English regiment of Dragoons. It transpired that the regiment in question had been "fixed" by the King a few days earlier. Rockingham wondered whether Griffin would instead take an Irish regiment "upon conditions of it being understood, that you shall have the first Regiment of dragoons in the English Establishment, which may become vacant". Anticipating such an offer, Griffin, in the meantime, had written to Mr. Secretary Conway.² Conscious of the obligations he owed to such ministers who "think of me in any Military Arrangements", he added "I hope they wont believe me less sincere in my senses of their attention if I beg leave to decline". He assured Conway that he would not complain if an older officer had succeeded to the English regiment recently filled, but "there is that justice Due to a Mans self, that he cant forbear feeling when things of this kind happen, and which he is not conscious of having deserv'd".

In his reply Conway³ indicated that there was agreement among the colleagues he had spoken to that Griffin should have an English regiment if one could be kept clear, and that in the meantime he hoped that he would consider the other. Writing two days later he re-affirmed that

1. D/DBy C8/54b.

2. Henry Seymour had been Commander in Chief (1762-63) and was Secretary of State at this time (1765-68). D/DBy C8/50; dated 5 August and written at his Town house.

3. D/DBy C8/51.

the Irish regiment had not been settled and that there was still time for Griffin to change his mind and accept.¹ Yet another letter informed that the King's decision on the English regiment was absolute and that he still hoped that Griffin would reconsider the Irish one.² He intimated that he would be happy if "You show'd so much friendship as not to let the world say you were among the refutors and for our sakes among the dissatisfied".

In his own reply³ to Rockingham, Griffin acknowledged the efforts made on his behalf, and assured his Lordship that "if I could with decent Justice to myself, do as your Lordship wishes I should". To Conway⁴ he indicated his appreciation and his own high regard for him. So much so, that he could "speak to You now as a soldier and a Man of tender feelings". But despite such sentiments, he still held that in honour and justice to himself he could not comply with their respective wishes and it was not possible for him to reconcile himself to accepting the Irish dragoons. He impressed upon Conway that his decision did not stem from either stubbornness or ungratefulness, but he had previously suffered a set back when he had succeeded to the Fiftieth Foot.⁵ He was at pains to assure both Rockingham and Conway that it was not his intention

1. D/DBY C8/52.

2. D/DBY C8/53. Conway's concern is also evidenced by his comment on his previous letter: "...I told you an horrid falsehood in intimating things were not finally settled about the Regiment".

3. D/DBY C8/54a.

4. D/DBY C8/55.

5. It transpired that Griffin had suffered a set back when he had succeeded to the 50th Foot and a General Hodgson had got the 5th Foot. Although he respected Hodgson "Much more I could say - for allow our Services to have equal merit I must however be allow'd to be Senior in Rank to General H": D/DBY C8/55.

of distressing them, and if he could hit upon a way of saving appearances and with credit to himself until a regiment of English dragoons became vacant, he would do so. In the meantime, his Majesty's ministers would have an opportunity of "obliging some other Friend and not at my Expense".

The keen disappointment felt soon gave way to satisfaction when he became colonel of the First Troop of Horse Grenadier Guards on 21 March, 1766.¹ Fittingly, perhaps, it was Rockingham who intimated his Majesty's intention of giving him this regiment.² Griffin remained with this regiment until 1788,³ when measures for reducing the two troops of Horse Grenadier Guards were agreed and as a result he received command of the Fourth Dragoons, holding both commands until the reduction took place.⁴ At Griffin's particular request the King gave his new regiment the additional title of the 'Queen's Own'. In communicating his Majesty's decision, Sir George Younge mentioned that the King "has been personally moved to give you this Mark of his Favor for the consideration that your being thus retained in his Service would be much more acceptable to you".⁵

The other avenue to attract his attention was military governorships.

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1. D/DBy 09/12.
 2. D/DBy C8/66.
 3. D/DBy 09/14; 9 March.
 4. See, The Times, 11 March, 1788; Lt.Gen.Sir F.W. Hamilton, The Origin and History of the First or Grenadier Guards (1874), 264; D.S. Daniell, 4 Hussar, The Story of the 4 or Queen's Light Dragoons 1685-1958 (1959), 69-70; R. Cannon, Historical Record of the 4 or Queen's Light Dragoons (1837), 49-50, and 106.
 5. D/DBy C9/50; he was Secretary at War.

Professor Hughes¹ calculated that there were thirty five garrison towns in Britain and that the governorships of these places carried attractive salaries while at many the duties involved were nominal. Griffin made several applications through Jenkinson to Bute. By July 1762,² an application of his to Bute had received a kind reception which experience encouraged him to feel hopeful of success in the event of a vacancy occurring. In keeping a watchful on the situation, he learned of the indifferent state of health of Sir Charles Howard, who, he had been told, "cannot hold out long". In the light of such intelligence Griffin considered it right to convey the information and he flattered himself that his friend Jenkinson would "take Occasion to make Use of to my Advantage". Griffin intimated that he would be in Town soon and at Lord Bute's service on the 28 of the month "and sooner if I should hear of Sir Charles' Death". Writing from Hurstbourne, he let it be known that Lord and Lady Portsmouth as well as his own Lady were well and joined in sending their compliments. Nothing came of this application as Howard held out longer, much longer, than Griffin had confidently expected, and did not die until 1765.³

On 19 August, 1762,⁴ and again from Lord Portsmouth's residence, Griffin once more wrote to Jenkinson. On this occasion it was the post of Lieutenant-Governor of the Isle of Wight that was the topic under

1. E. Hughes, 'The Professions in the Eighteenth Century', Durham Univ. Jnl., (1952), 50. See also, R. Pares, George III and the Politicians (1953), 19.

2. B.M.Add.Ms.38199, f.38.

3. D/DBy C8/54b; Rockingham informed Griffin that the governorship had been decided in favour of the General Hodgson, mentioned above. They were Fort George and Fort Augustus and the former brought in £500 per annum. See, Haydn, Dignities, 858; Army List (1766), 170.

4. B.M.Add.Ms.38199, f.156.

discussion. He announced that he had been "not a little impatient Yesterday in Expectation of an Answer to my Application to Lord Bute". He went on to remind Jenkinson that it was natural and indeed to be expected that his uncle, Lord Portsmouth, with whom he, Griffin, was staying at that time, should also wish him the Lieutenant-Governorship, as it was his Lordship who was the Governor. Under such circumstances it would "give Me as well as his Lordship much greater Pleasure to succeed to this Vacancy than to One of greater Value". But this application, despite Griffin's use of his patron, the Earl of Portsmouth, was also unsuccessful, although the post remained vacant until 1764.¹

Finally, to consider his career from the standpoint of fulfilling such duties that an officer might be called upon to discharge. In the eighteenth century the army was very much an amateurish service, and once commissioned an officer remained on the Army List until such time as he resigned or was dismissed for misconduct, being a soldier in name only.² As far as Griffin was concerned, once his days of active service were over during the Seven Years' War, his professional duties were minimal, and he seems to have undertaken about half a dozen tasks between 1762 and 1797.

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1. Army List (1764), 134: a vacancy occurred again in 1767 but there is no evidence to show that Griffin re-applied; Army List (1767), 169. The governorship was worth £500 per annum and the Lieutenant-governorship £365 per annum. By the Isle of Wight was meant Sandown Fort, Yarmouth Castle, Carisbrooke Castle and Cowes Castle.
 2. A modern writer has commented that the army was not "a major national institution or a primary career for national talent like the French or Prussian army"; see, Barnett, op.cit., 166. Army administration during this period was defective and despite the establishment of a standing army in 1689 most contemporaries remained reluctant to accept what was to them an unpalatable fact: see, D.B. Horne and Mary Ransome (eds.) English Historical Documents, X, 1714-1783 (1957), 579-80.

Firstly, in December 1762¹, as Colonel of the Thirty Third Foot, he wrote to the Duke of Newcastle in conjunction with bringing his regiment back from Germany. In the 1770's correspondence took place between Griffin and Barrington who was at the War Office.² This related to the administration of the Grenadier Guards of which he was Colonel at the time. It transpired that Griffin had expressed the need of an additional allowance, but Barrington refused to recommend such a measure to the King declaring that the excess of the fund beyond the expenditure was not to be looked upon as an emolument but as a security to meet any extra-ordinary charges to occur. Due to the incomplete nature of the evidence, one might suggest that Griffin had, perhaps, in seeking a maximum return for his investment in his regiment overstepped the mark even by eighteenth century standards.

Having secured his own advancement, there are two examples to show that he was not unmindful of trying to promote the interests of junior officers. In November 1775³ Griffin approached Sir Robert Keith requesting his assistance in introducing Lord Albermarle, "a very young Traveller at the different Places". It transpired that Albermarle had been two years at Göttingen, where, Griffin had illicitly from another friend he had perfected himself in the German language. A close friendship which extended over thirty years between Griffin and Albermarle's father as well as the young man's own disposition "makes me to see him properly & advantageously enter into Life". Having already proposed

1. B.M.Add.Ms.38200, f.157. A report on 5 March 1763 by the commanding officer of Griffin's regiment stated that clothing and stores of five regiments were left at Bremen by order of Lord Granby. A request was made for vessels to be sent for them with orders to bring them to Portsmouth. See, Calendar Home Office Papers op.cit., p.267.

2. For example D/DBy C9/10, 29 April, 1773; C9/11, 30 April, 1773; D/DBy C9/12; also May 1773.

3. B.M.Add.Ms.35509, f.241.

that the young man in question should go to a Lieutenant Robinson in his troop, it was Griffin's intention that he should visit Dresden, Berlin and Potsdam among other places, as soon as Griffin could procure the proper letters for his reception. It was for this reason that he approached his friend Keith, and he also requested "any further Route or Plan, that You may think might be of Advantage to him". He added that although Albermarle already had a knowledge of French, "yet before he comes home I would have him a little more perfected in it - & have Thoughts of sending him by & by for a few months to Metz, where I am inform'd he may have an Oportunity of gaining some military Knowledge at the same time: for I must have a view to his Profession, as well as his manners". On this occasion Griffin's concern went beyond what might have been expected of him. Childless himself, not only does the episode reveal a genuine interest for the well-being of an old friend's son, but it demonstrates, perhaps, the manner in which he would have addressed himself to the upbringing of his own flesh and blood. At any rate, his request met with success, for three weeks later he wrote¹ to Keith acknowledging his kindness and assuring him that when in Town after Christmas he would take the first opportunity of thanking him personally. Griffin also seems to have taken more than a passing interest in the career of Robinson, mentioned in conjunction with Albermarle.²

Correspondence has also survived between Griffin and Lord Amherst over the Grenadier Guards. Writing from Whitehall in July 1783³, Amherst

1. B.M.Add.Ms.35509, f.278.

2. G.G.Butler (ed.) Colonel St. Paul, Soldier and Diplomat (1911), VII, 422-23.

3. D/DBy C9/33: he was Commander in Chief between 1778 - 1782, and again between 1793-95; he was made Field Marshal in 1796; see, Haydn, op.cit., 855-6.

informed that the King had ordered him to report on the Guards' forage accounts for the previous five years along with an account of the sum received during the same period for the payment of forages. He requested Griffin to order his agent to make a clear and exact statement of the accounts for the years 1778 to 1782 inclusive, and that it should on completion be delivered to him. Amherst was particularly concerned to ascertain the real expenditure for forage and what sums had been actually received during this period. Griffin in his reply¹ indicated that he had already informed his Majesty of his own sentiments, that the forage fund was not sufficient to maintain the horses of a troop of Horse Grenadier Guards in complete and proper order. On his Majesty's advice he had drawn up proposals to remedy the situation and requested a meeting with Amherst before making his report. Griffin also told Amherst that as the colonel of one of the troops and with seventeen years experience, he expected to be consulted in any arrangements that might affect the credit of the troops that he had the honour to command, and that he was ready to go up to London to meet Amherst at the shortest of notices. They continued to correspond² over forage accounts and the stabling of horses until June 1784.³

It was in this year that Griffin was called upon to reprimand a Colonel Debbing,⁴ who, it appears, had manifested an unbecoming spirit in correspondence with the Duke of Richmond.⁵ Griffin, who was a

1. D/DBy C9/34. .

2. For example, D/DBy C9/35-36.

3. D/DBy C9/38.

4. D/DBy C9/42.

5. The 3rd Duke of Richmond had been Secretary of State in 1766, and Master of the Ordnance between 1782-3, and again 1784-95 and was made a Field Marshal in 1796; see, Haydn, op.cit., 856.

General at this time, would seem to have carried out the task in a most satisfactory manner, and Sir Charles Gould¹ wrote requiring a copy of the "very genteel Reprimand" given by Griffin so that it could be deposited with the minutes of the court martial thus rendering the proceedings complete. The Duke of Richmond² also communicated his best thanks "for your Goodness and Indulgence to me in the Course of this troublesome Business". Other duties were of a ceremonial nature, such as being in attendance upon the King in reviewing the troops.³

But despite the pronounced lack of professionalism, particularly in peace time, Griffin continued to take a keen interest in military matters. A local newspaper report⁴ tells that he received an express of Howe's important victory over the French fleet in June 1794 and that he in turn communicated the intelligence to the Mayor of Saffron Walden. "This good news spread like wild fire; and the general joy of the place, on this glorious event, spread as fast". Bells rang for the remainder of the day along with the playing of music and firing of guns, and some of the locals proceeded to Audley End to congratulate Griffin "who gave them a kind welcome". Celebrations continued into the following day and "to conclude the evening, our noble Lord has ordered a handsome donation of strong beer, to be distributed to the populace, and an illumination of the town is intended". Griffin wrote to Howe and in the ensuing reply was informed that "there is no ground in the encampment more healthy than that

1. D/DBY C9/41; he was one of the Judge-Advocates General; see Haydn, op.cit., 937.

2. D/DBY C9/43.

3. For example, E.R.O. Chelmsford and Colchester Chronicle, T/B 171/4; 23 October, 1778.

4. Ibid, T/B 171/9; 13 June, 1794.

occupied by the 4 Dragoons.¹ This was, of course, the regiment of which he was colonel.

At Audley End there are two portraits of Sir John. One hangs in the saloon and the other in the south library: both record that he was a soldier. The portrait in the south library, by West², is of him seated in his tent in general's uniform, and originally hung in the Adam library on the ground floor. The other, by Rebecca,³ is of him in the robes of the Order of Knight of the Bath, and was originally placed in the position it still occupies today. That he chose to be portrayed on both occasions in costumes associated with his army career, is, perhaps, an indication that it was as a soldier above all else that he saw himself and that it was as a soldier that he wished to be remembered. It was to commemorate his country's victory in the Seven Years' War, and no doubt his own part in it, that he erected the Grecian Temple designed by Robert Adam. This temple stands on a hill to the west of the house and can be seen from some of the principal apartments. Horace Walpole⁴ described him as an "officer of some distinction" and Morant,⁵ perhaps reflecting on the manner in which county society saw him, tells us that he "distinguished himself greatly in the late wars in Germany". Griffin's career was in no way exceptional, but it was interesting and relatively successful, and in following it we see how one member of the

1. D/DBy C9/74; 25 August, 1795.
2. D/DBy A30/3/1772: see portrait:
3. D/DBy A32/2/1774.
4. G.F. Russell Barker (ed.) H. Walpole, Memoirs of the Reign of George III (1894) 11, 259.
5. P. Morant, History and Antiquities of the County of Essex (1768), 11, 550.

ruling group made out in one of the professions of the day. He saw active service and distinguished himself: in his ambitions to promote himself he revealed a certain determination and forthrightness, and in the light of his own evidence he appears to have been fair minded. An army career brought him a good deal of satisfaction and from what is known of him it is not out of place to suggest that the experience gained in this quarter showed itself, and not unfavourably, from time to time, in other facets of his life. But as well as being a soldier, he also belonged to that group of army officers who sat in the House of Commons, and who formed the largest single professional group in that place.

CHAPTER 3 : PARLIAMENTARY CAREER.^{*}

On 28 November, 1749, Griffin was returned to Parliament in a by election on the interest of his uncle the 1st Earl of Portsmouth. It was a death together with his aunt's judicious marriage that made it possible for him to enter the House of Commons with comparative ease.¹ The death was that of John, Viscount Lymington, the son and heir of the Earl by his first wife: he had represented the borough of Andover, Hampshire, since 1741.² His aunt gave Griffin her share of the Audley End estate in 1749 which act not only provided him with the landed qualification needed to enter the House, but also with a second source of income to help sustain a second career.³ Griffin was returned to seven consecutive Parliaments and stood three contests⁴ before his elevation to the peerage in 1784.⁵ In an attempt to answer the primary question of how did he exercise his political role, this analysis will rest on a number of secondary and interrelated questions. With which

^{*} I wish to thank Mr. John Brooke of the Historical Manuscripts Commission for his helpful advice and for reading this chapter.

1. In 1749 Griffin was returned "almost without opposition, his competitor having but one vote....This made the expense light". See, R. Sedgwick, The History of Parliament The House of Commons 1715-1754 (1970), II, 86.
2. For the Portsmouth family, see, D.N.B., XX, 612-13. I have consulted with the Agent at the estate office at Farleigh Wallop, and unfortunately there are no papers relating to the eighteenth century.
3. Griffin also married in this year, see chapter 5.
4. See Namier & Brooke, op.cit., 1, 293-4. There were contests in 1761, 1768 and 1774.
5. D/DBY C9/39.

political leaders was he associated? how did he conduct himself in the House? to which Parliamentary type did he belong? and what were his goals? That we are able to offer some sort of answers to these questions is due to the survival of those private letters touching upon political matters and to his recorded speeches. Allowing for the absence of oral contact that was known to have taken place, the surviving evidence speaks at two levels. The recorded speeches reflect the manner in which a member was heard publicly; the correspondence is a record of a more private transaction, even when the topic itself might be of a public nature.¹

One cannot be sure of the exact relationship between Griffin and Lord Portsmouth. That the Earl had allowed Griffin to take the place of his own son and heir must have been largely due to the influence of Elizabeth, the Earl's second wife, and Griffin's aunt. An ambitious woman she had adopted her nephew as her own heir and instilled in him a deep sense of family pride and the need to regain its lost dignities. From what is known of her she might well have influenced her second husband into allowing Griffin to follow, within limits, his own inclinations politically, particularly if it meant furthering his army career at the same time. Further, Lord Portsmouth was approaching seventy whereas Griffin was in the prime of life, and it might well be that his Lordship having had some experience of politics in his own younger days, was content to allow Griffin some freedom of movement.² It is clear that friendly relations existed between the Earl and Griffin, and that the latter was able to approach his political patron in a straightforward

1. See I.R. Christie, Myth and Reality in Late Eighteenth-Century British Politics and Other Papers (1970), 29-30.

2. Sedgwick, op.cit. 11,507.

manner. Indeed, on one occasion it was Griffin who tried to influence the Earl's conduct as evidenced in the Bewdley¹ corporation election in 1755. "I scarce know how to credit this report of Your Lordship undertaking so large a journey for the Election of Bailiff in a Borough, that I have not known your Lordship interest yourself since I have been so happy as to be known to ye".² Although Griffin was too late in his effort to persuade his uncle not to attend, shortly afterwards he was able to write that "I have however wrote to his Lordship att Hursbourne & I flatter Myself This will be his last Visit of the Kind".³ He was however anxious to demonstrate "how happy I am in the Honour of your Lordship's Friendship".⁴ Even so, the relationship was based on the uncle-nephew rather than on the patron-nominee relationship. That close relations continued between Griffin and the Portsmouth family after the 1st Earl's death is evident from a letter written by Uraniah, Lady Portsmouth, in 1789, in which she mentioned the "friendship which you have ever manifested for the family",⁵ and to this testimony one can add the visits that took place between the two families.⁶

The Bewdley episode had resulted from Griffin's connection with Henry Fox, Secretary at War and the Duke of Cumberland's right hand man at that time. Griffin had entered Parliament as a thirty year old army officer holding the rank of captain and lieutenant colonel.⁷

1. Namier & Brooke, op.cit., I, 422-3.

2. D/DBY C8/9.

3. D/DBY C8/7.

4. D/DBY C8/8.

5. D/DBY C9/53.

6. D/DBY C9/54-59.

7. D/DBY 09/3.

In 1754¹ the army officers formed the largest single group in the Commons, and there was a higher percentage of aristocratic members in the army than in any other occupational group. Membership of the House was in fact a "recognised avenue of professional advancement".² It was not surprising, therefore, that Griffin's first political connection was with Fox nor that in company with other officers he belonged to the Cumberland-Fox group. Correspondence between Griffin and Fox indicate that this was more than a tenuous connection. Fox, for his part, approached Griffin in the hope that Lord Portsmouth might be induced to stay away from Bewdley. Fox intimated that his anxiety was such that his letter was sent by express and "relying on your Goodness that if you can think of a reason to serve me on this occasion you will".³ And again, at the end of the same month, September, 1755, Fox wrote telling Griffin of his Majesty's intention of making himself Secretary of State. Feeling the need to "take the Conduct of the House" before acceptance he intimated that "a Great Attendance of my Friends will be of the Greatest Consequence to my Future Situation, and I should be extremely Happy if you wou'd for that Reason, shew Yourself amongst them".⁴ For his part Griffin had replied to Fox's first request promptly stating that he had already written to his uncle and adding that "I hope I need not tell you, Sir, how happy I should be if It should prove to be in my

1. Namier & Brooke, op.cit., I, 138-143.

2. G.P. Judd, Members of Parliament, 1734-1832 (Newhaven, Connecticut 1955), 49.

3. D/DBy C8/2: Fox himself acknowledged that he had been late in making his application; D/DBy C8/6.

4. D/DBy C8/10.

Power to effect this or any other Point, that can afford you so much Satisfaction",¹ and in a second letter made the point of wishing success to Sir Edward Wynnnington, Fox's candidate in the Bewdley election.²

This correspondence between Griffin and Fox, and Griffin and Lord Portsmouth, shows the position of one army officer in relation to one of the political leaders of the day and his own political patron to whom he was also related. As a soldier who had seen active service Griffin was at this time still engaged in furthering his military career. Primarily, it was as a soldier he saw himself. When he entered Parliament in 1749 he was a captain³ and Lieutenant Colonel of the Foot Guards.⁴ In his first letter Fox had mentioned "there is no condition I would decline"⁵ and in his own letter to his uncle Griffin had reminded him of "the civilities"⁶ he had already received from Fox, and had hinted at the "further Obligations"⁷ that he would be likely to owe him. Understandably Griffin wanted to show his gratitude for past services and to remain on good terms so that Fox might help him further. But he also wanted to impress upon Fox that although unsuccessful over the Bewdley affair, he did in fact stand well with his uncle and that he continued to enjoy his friendship. It was important for Griffin to demonstrate that he had 'interest' and possessed 'friends' among those in power.

1. D/DBy C8/3.

2. D/DBy C8/5.

3. D/DBy 09/3.

4. D/DBy 09/2.

5. D/DBy C8/2.

6. D/DBy C8/9.

7. Ibid.

There were forty nine officers in the 1754 Parliament and they were all classed as 'for' government.¹ The inclusion of Fox as Secretary of State and of Cumberland as 'whip' for these officers in the House during part of the Newcastle Administration augered well for this group, who looked to Cumberland as the source of professional favours. But after Cumberland's resignation in 1757² as a group the army officers disintegrated in the absence of positive political direction from the head of their profession. It was left to each officer to promote his own interests as best he could. In 1756 Griffin had been made Aide de Camp³ to his Majesty and in 1758 Major of the Third Foot Guards.⁴ As a result of active service he applied direct to the Duke of Newcastle for a public recognition⁵ of his efforts and in return for such favours he was giving political support.⁶

In the meantime the old King had died and had been succeeded by a young man of twenty two who was "eager for work, burning to put into practice ideas which had long been cherished in the study and the library, and knowing little of how government really worked".⁷ More pertinent, perhaps, for Griffin, Lord Portsmouth died in 1762 and the process of re-orientation, already begun, needed to be continued if he was to attain his ambitions. His re-alignment must be seen against the troubled back-

1. Namier & Brooke, op.cit., I, 141.

2. B. Williams, The Whig Supremacy 1714-1760 (Oxford 1962), 359-60.

3. D/DBy 09/4.

4. D/DBy 09/5.

5. See chapter 2.

6. See appendix 1.

7. J. Brooke, King George III (1972), 89.

ground of the early years of the new reign and of a decade which saw six administrations.¹ Griffin was to be quite closely associated with two of the principal ministers of the first half of George III's reign, Pitt and Rockingham.

Griffin's relationship with Pitt was many-sided. He had written to Pitt in 1759 and in 1760 when applying for the Order of the Bath.² In 1766 Pitt wrote congratulating Sir John on his most recent military promotion expressing his sincere joy on the occasion and adding that it "flows equally from every Public and private consideration, and I am sure that I share the pleasure I feel with the best Party in the world, accept my truest congratulations, together with all warm wishes for your welfare".³ The relationship was also social. In January 1765 Griffin was congratulating Pitt upon his recent purchase of an estate, an activity with which he himself was fully conversant, and showing his concern for the latter's health.⁴ In April of the same year he informed Pitt of his intention of re-marrying, his bride-to-be being Katherine Clayton.⁵ Among her many attributes, he confided, was "the Stock too she is derived from are Friends to the Revolution Principles contribute to make the Alliance so much the more agreeable to Me".⁶ Unable to reply due to ill health,

1. See, J. Steven Watson, The Reign of George III 1760-1815 (Oxford 1960), 67-146.

2. P.R.O. 30/8/38.

3. D/DBy C8/67.

4. P.R.O. 30/8/38.

5. See chapter 5.

6. P.R.O. 30/8/38.

Lady Hester took up the pen on her husband's behalf. She congratulated Sir John and mentioned that Pitt himself would "count the Hours till he is able to embrace" the groom and pay his respects to the destined bride.¹ To such sentiments Griffin responded by stating that they "can not but leave in Sir John's mind the liveliest & deepest Impressions."² In January 1766 writing from Bath it was Pitt who expressed himself flattered at the repeated marks of friendship and attention that Griffin honoured him with. It was his hope that "perfect health has continued to crown the Enjoyments of Audley End".³ The relationship was such that a visit from Miss Pitt to the Griffins⁴ was arranged and Sir John for his part was able to introduce his brother in law, the Count de Welden, to Pitt.⁵ Social correspondence continued in 1767⁶ and 1769⁷ until what appears to be the last letter between them was written by Pitt in August 1772, when a projected visit from the Griffins had to be called off due to health reasons.⁸

But the relationship was also political. In October 1763 Griffin had made overtures to obtain for himself Pitt's 'protection' and requesting a meeting, to which Pitt in his reply suggested a time and place.⁹ At the same time Griffin involved himself in the Essex by

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1. D/DBy C8/47.
 2. P.R.O. 30/8/38, 22 April, 1765.
 3. D/DBy C8.
 4. P.R.O. 30/8/38, letter 8.
 5. D/DBy C8/78-79.
 6. D/DBy C8/83.
 7. D/DBy C8/94-95.
 8. D/DBy C9/9.
 9. D/DBy C8/30-31.

election and was instrumental in helping bring about the success of the Whig candidate, John Luther, a result seen by some opposition members as amounting to a defeat for the government.¹ Griffin had communicated² his own involvement to Pitt and on hearing the result the latter expressed his own satisfaction and congratulated both Sir John and Lady Griffin for their parts in the campaign.³ In September 1765 Griffin was informing Pitt of a tete a tete conversation he had with the Hereditary Prince at Ranelagh.⁴ It transpired that the Prince was desirous to see Pitt. The ensuing correspondence makes it clear that Griffin acted as go-between conveying messages of projected meetings from one to the other.⁵ Griffin made known his own sentiments when he told Pitt "You may be assur'd for I feel myself particularly happy and fortunate in being the lucky instrument of conveying to each other the sentiments of Two People so highly honoured and distinguished by all the world, and each of whom have at different times personally honor'd me with marks of their Friendship".⁶

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1. See, Namier & Brooke, op.cit., I, 274-6. Although there was no dominant aristocratic influence in Essex, there is no indication that Griffin wished to represent his adopted county, although to do so was fashionable at that time. No doubt a safe and comparatively cheap seat would have been considerations. For Horace Walpole's comment, see Mrs. Paget Toynbee, Letters to Horace Walpole, Fourth Earl of Orford (MCCCCLV), IV, 1760-1764, 415-6, letter 922. This election fired the imagination of some of the local people, one of their number composing a poem, see E.R.O. D/DPr 566.
 2. D/DBy C8/31; 28 October 1763.
 3. D/DBy C8/44; this letter was written on Pitt's behalf as he was unwell at the time, 14 December, 1763.
 4. D/DBy C8/56.
 5. D/DBy C8/57; C8/58; C8/60; P.R.O. 30/8/38, letters 7 and 8.
 6. D/DBy C8/59.

A meeting planned between Pitt and Griffin in July 1766 had to be called off,¹ but on 29 of that month Pitt informed Griffin that he was to kiss hands on the following day. He was to take the title of Chatham, but he added that "under another title I am always the same man; that is, amongst the sincerest and warmest of Sir John Griffin's friends and faithful Servants". He also intimated some of the other ministerial appointments.²

Griffin welcomed Chatham's return to office for several reasons. Firstly, they had corresponded since 1759 and from the tone and contents of their letters it is clear that their association was quite close. Secondly, Pitt for his part had felt that he could call upon and trust Sir John to undertake certain duties on his behalf. Thirdly, Pitt was supported by a number of independent members who admired his record³ and who might also have felt that he offered the best chance of settled government. Indeed Mr. John Brooke⁴ has given it as his opinion that none of George III's ministers enjoyed quite the same degree of support accorded to Chatham: the King felt that at long last he had found a minister who could give him the political stability that he was so desirous of obtaining. Having recently received marks of royal favour himself, Griffin, no doubt, shared such aspirations. Even so, there was a personal reason why Griffin welcomed the formation of the Chatham administration in August 1766, for he was ready with his own claims.

1. D/DBy C8/70.
2. D/DBy C8/71: for example, Lord Camden was to have the Great Seal, Charles Townshend was to be Chancellor of the Exchequer and Conway was to remain Leader of the Commons.
3. J. Brooke, The Chatham Administration, 1766-1768 (1956), 253.
4. Brooke, George III, 137.

In a letter dated 1 August 1766, Sir John, mindful of the debts of friendship and protection he already owed his friend, wrote that he was confident that Chatham "will not blame, nor think my Ambition ill placed".¹ He wanted to share with his forebears the very honours that they had enjoyed. Although thus far in his career in the House he had confined his ambitions to obtaining military promotion in one form or another, he had in one of his letters to Newcastle in 1760² given notice of another aspiration, namely that a peerage of England had recently become extinct in his family, and that a peerage was in abeyance between his own family and Lord Bristol. That he considered that Chatham would not think his ambition ill placed was due to several factors. On Lady Portsmouth's death in 1762 he had inherited one of the once largest private residences in the country, widely admired in its hey-day, and which had for thirty five years been one of the royal palaces of the kings of England. He had also inherited some 3,000 acres of the original Audley End estate,³ and more recent continued military promotion with other marks of royal favour had augmented his income and status. In short, he considered that he was eminently peerage worthy.

In his letter⁴ to Chatham he pointed out that he had had "a peerage so very near me" which had died "with my own uncle", the 3rd Lord Griffin. He also had a joint claim to the Barony of Howard de Walden and papers explaining his claim were included. He confided that although the Walden title "would be more eligible to me than a new

1. D/DBy C8/72.

2. B.M.Add.MSS.32904 f.62.

3. See Part IV.

4. D/DBy C8/72.

Creation", as the Bristol family would not willingly depart from its claim, he would be extremely happy and honoured to accept a new creation. But no doubt, as Bristol was Chatham's close political ally, Griffin hoped that some influence might have been exerted by Chatham in his favour. That it had been his intention of making such a claim for some time is evidenced by the fact that his aunt had considered doing so herself eleven years earlier, but had she been successful the title would have continued in the heirs of her own body only.¹ Such a possibility had persuaded the Countess to take no further action, but in making him her own heir and eventually giving him part of the estate and house, she had also fired his ambition to reclaim the lost dignities of the family.

Illness prevented Chatham from replying before 19 August. Although wanting to help Griffin he explained that it "it is early Days with me, since I had the great honour to be permitted to attend the Closet".² As yet, he was not fully acquainted with the King's intentions of creating new peers. However, he did know that there had been many applications and that his Majesty in all probability would not wish to create many. He promised to do his best when an opportunity presented itself. In his own reply at the end of that month, Sir John acknowledged the open and candid manner in which Chatham had written. In repeating his claim he was confident that Chatham's friendship for him would "pardon me for pleading my own cause, if I take the Liberty to speak with a degree of Freedom".³ Although appreciating Chatham's point that it was still early days, this was precisely why he had been quick in making his

1. D/DBY F48.

2. D/DBY C8/73.

3. D/DBY C8/75.

application. Any delay might have the effect of making "what appears to your Lordship to be difficult now, still more so by and by". He stressed that in seeking his own ends he had no wish to obtain a peerage at the expense of any other person to whom a peerage had been promised. Such action would have ~~been~~ vain, unreasonable and indeed unjust. But he did feel that applications made during former ministries could not expect to meet the same success under Chatham "as I flatter'd myself I had for mine". He reiterated his claim mentioning that his country seat and estate "till my time have always had a peer for their Possessor" and "not one of which perhaps has everybody to say who aims at a Seat in ye H. of L. " With facts such as these on his side, facts "undeniably true", coupled with Chatham's friendship, surely, he pleaded, "you may not find the difficulties so great,...having said more than enough to convince your Lordship how much I have this view (indeed I have no other) att heart". He concluded that whatever the outcome, he would not make another application of that kind, "well knowing that there is not in the world a man on whose Friendship I have so much reason to depend".

Despite his pleading, his apparent strength of claim and his professed confidence in Chatham's ability to procure the coveted prize, his applications did not succeed. It is difficult to be sure whether Chatham's illness and subsequent withdrawal had a direct bearing on Griffin's claim or whether the divided estate or indeed the King's known reluctance all combined to make his efforts abortive. He must have regretted that he had not inherited the title of his forebears along with the house and Estate. But the episode does indicate his lack of a desire for high political office.

However his political association with Chatham continued and in

October 1766¹ he enquired whether his attendance was required. He explained that he was anxious to know as he wished to make arrangements for his own family and concluded by hoping that Chatham had benefited from the Bath waters and that measures of government would be carried through to his Lordship's satisfaction. In his reply Chatham regretted that he could not give precise information, but gave it as his opinion that "the Situation of Things never call'd for a more serious and early attention",² but added that as Audley End was not distant, Griffin himself would be able to judge from the opening of the session what would be likely to ensue "and be in time to regulate motions as you may think proper". The Administration³ was by this time encountering difficulties and Griffin wrote again at the end of the month expressing his concern with the situation and requesting a meeting. It was at this time that the Rockingham faction had severed its connection with the Chatham Administration,⁴ and it would seem that Griffin, who was on friendly terms with Rockingham, was not happy with Chatham's treatment of him.

Although from the correspondence it is clear that they communicated from 1759 to 1772 it is equally clear that the relationship was more than political and that Griffin was not a Chathamite.⁵ But he was undoubtedly

1. D/DBy C8/76.
2. D/DBy C8/77.
3. Chatham retired to Bath to "nurse his gout and his feelings"; Watson, George III, 123. His acceptance of a title and entry into the Lords has been described as his "crowning act of folly"; Brooke, George III, 135.
4. This was over Lord Edgecumbe's dismissal.
5. P. Brown, The Chathamites A Study in the Relationship Between Personalities and Ideas in the Second Half of the Eighteenth Century (1967).

close in spirit to Chatham. This can partly be explained by the fact that the two major issues of the day were imperial expansion with the growing complexities of empire after 1763, and also the consolidation of the civil and political liberties gained from the Glorious Revolution. But it can partly be ascribed to common principle. Whereas it has been suggested that had he cultivated some of the independent gentlemen in the Commons they might have formed a strong party in opposition,¹ it is no less true that Chatham claimed that he was an individual without party and that a true patriot should oppose "measures not men" and that such opposition should be based on a man's own convictions "independent of the sentiment of others" and that a connection to oppose a wrong measure should terminate when the wrong measure had ceased to be an issue.² Although Griffin was disappointed that Chatham had been unable to provide a stable administration as well as being unable to secure a peerage for himself, it was Chatham's philosophy that appealed to Griffin and which continued to live on in him after his association with Chatham was ended. But the relationship was not one way, and it is clear that Chatham for his part respected Griffin and the intimate tone in some of his letters was quite unusual: as indeed was the projected visit between them.³

The second national political figure with whom Griffin was quite closely associated was the Marquis of Rockingham, and as with Chatham it was more than political. Correspondence took place between them in 1765 over Griffin's application for a regiment of Dragoons on which

1. Brooke, Chatham Administration, 253.

2. A.S. Foord, His Majesty's Opposition 1714-1830 (Oxford 1964), 306-10.

3. This opinion is based on conversations with Mr. John Brooke.

occasion the Marquis had failed to persuade Griffin to accept an Irish regiment until an English one should become vacant.¹ The relationship was also social stemming from their mutual interest in horse racing: "Ten thousand thanks to you for your obliging congratulations on Bay Molton's success",² wrote the Marquis from Newmarket in April 1767. They were on visiting terms and in another letter he thanked Griffin for calling on him and added that as he intended setting out for Newmarket on the next day "if you have a liesure moment between eleven and 12 o'clock tomorrow, I shall be very glad to see you".³

Their political association stretched from 1765 presumably down to 1782 although their correspondence appears to have ended in 1778. In December 1765 Rockingham wrote that although no opposition was expected until after the re-elections, "yet it would be desirable that many of our Friends would be in the House and I have some reason for wishing to see you".⁴ By April 1766 when the Free Port Bill was in agitation, which was opposed by Pitt, Rockingham contacted Griffin and voiced his opinion that "the American Regulations are matter of the highest importance and in the Political World much matter of Speculation. I owe I am exceeding anxious that we should not lose the Presence of any Friend - I fear that by Your Letter that staying will be inconvenient to You, but yet I must express my wishes and hope you will excuse me".⁵

1. D/DBy C8/ C8/54b. See also, P. Langford, The First Rockingham Administration 1765-1766, (1973) 66.
2. D/DBy C8/84; see also, T.W. Copeland (ed.) The Correspondence of Edmund Burke... (1958), 1,309.
3. D/DBy C8/89.
4. D/DBy C8/64.
5. D/DBy C8/68.

Here, Rockingham was bidding for Griffin's support against Chatham. Despite the inconvenience hinted at and no doubt being mindful of the very recent obligation he owed to the First Lord of the Treasury, who, in the previous March, had personally informed him of his appointment to the Colonelcy of the First Troop of Horse Grenadier Guards, Griffin heeded the call, put off his projected visit, and attended, although there was no division.¹

In 1769 Griffin voted with the Rockinghams over the case of Wilkes and the Middlesex election. In April Rockingham expressed his happiness at having received a letter from Griffin "which gives me satisfaction of seeing in every instance, how kindly you are inclined to weigh and consider the matters which arise".² In May Rockingham was impressing upon Griffin the importance of the petition to Parliament by some of the Middlesex freeholders concerning the election of Luttrell, and in doing so expressed hopes that "Your opinion is not with the then Majority and as I cannot but think that the proceedings on this matter of great consequence and well deserving the Attention of those who wish to preserve the Principles of the Constitution unimpeached, I must express how much I wish that you would be present at the debate on Monday, and I shall be very happy if your sentiments on this matter concur with many of my Friends who are very eager on this Affair".³ Replying from Audley End on 7 May, Sir John declared himself "no Friend to the Resolution of the H.C. which gave Col. Luttrell his Seat there; but not suspecting anything more of Consequence in Parliament this Session, I came hither a

1. D/DBy C8/69.

2. D/DBy C8/91.

3. D/DBy C8/92.

few Days ago to transact some particular Business". He informed Rockingham that he would not be able to attend as the persons with whom he was transacting business had travelled a considerable distance, and to do so would cause great inconvenience. He concluded "you will I am sure my Lord knowing Me as you do put the kindest Construction on my not being able to comply with your Lordships Wishes".¹ Although sharing the same political views as Rockingham, he was not of the Marquis' party.

By February 1771 Rockingham was writing to Griffin informing him of Dowdeswell's projected Jury Bill and although it was his intention of also writing to General Honeywood and Mr. Luther, "I will at all events that you would be so good to apprise them of this matter".² In March 1772 he approached Griffin over the Royal Marriage Bill. Describing it as one of the most "Abominable" that had been passed in their time, he was hopeful that Griffin would present himself either on the next or the following day "that I might have some Talk with You".³ Sir John replied on the same day. Not wishing to give the impression that he was one who had "forgot Marks received of ye Lordship's Friendship", he stated that "I will freely declare that I am no Friend to ye Bill as It now stands, nor have I any Conception that It will be suffer'd to be alter'd in ye House as to give me any Rellish for It". He explained that he had in fact already decided against attending "as a Matter Personal, where my Vote alone and many more I fear would still leave It in ye Same State...What Part one Gentleman, or Another may act in this or

1. D/DBy C8/93.

2. D/DBy C9/1.

3. D/DBy C9/5.

any other Political Point is of no Significance to me".¹ Rockingham, however, persisted, and wrote again on the following day, re-iterating his opinion of the Bill, expressing his confidence that great numbers would oppose it, and requesting Griffin to attend.² This Griffin did, but he did not vote against the measure, which he considered to be the personal concern of George III, although he might also have acted cautiously in view of his own aspirations to the peerage.

By 1774 Sir John was showing signs of sharing the same opinions as the Opposition on the American question, and in an undated letter, almost certainly to Rockingham, he translated his thoughts into words. "I make no Doubt you have heard that I made publick Declaration of my Sentiments in the H of C in Regard to America - and as you was my Lord pleas'd it was not a matter of Indifference to You, what Line I should take; it has I hope afforded Your L'dship some Satisfaction to hear that I protested against the Minister and this Meanness and in the most pointed Terms I could".³ Griffin's feelings at this time had not gone un-noticed by some of the Marquis's friends,⁴ and in reply to Rockingham Griffin stated that "I may say with ye greatest truth, that I never feel so happy in my Part of any Parliamentary Conduct, as I do, when I am acting agreeable to your Lordship's sentiments".⁵ In October Rockingham reported that he had called at Sir John's Town house and that he wanted

1. D/DBY C9/6.

2. D/DBY C9/7.

3. D/DBY C9/13.

4*. Namier & Brooke, op.cit., II, 55. Rockingham also sent Griffin a list of Burke's motions for the colonies: D/DBY C9/14, March, 1775.

5. D/DBY C9/16.

to speak with him on "the present more & more alarming & desperate state into which the Affairs in this Country are driven".¹ He added that "I trust at least that you will not be offended at my not being indifferent to the line You may take, when you come up & act in Parl't". He was careful to mention that Griffin "will have well weighed & consider'd both the Arguments I have stated as well as other Arguments, which naturally arise".

In November 1776² Rockingham wrote expressing his own satisfaction on hearing Sir John declare that he was no friend to the taxation of America and he added that he would be glad to see him in the House. When this particular business was postponed, Rockingham wrote again thanking Griffin for his willingness to support and apologising for the inconvenience the deferment had caused and let it be known that many of "our Friends who had intended going into the country had determined to stay on in Town", and he concluded by stating that "I think you would have some Pleasure in being present on the Occasion".³ When in May 1777 Griffin received some adverse criticism in The Morning Post as a result of his participation in the Civil Lists debate, another issue personal to the King, he wrote to Rockingham expressing his concern. Sensible of the honour in possessing the Marquis's friendship and "knowing Me as you do my Lord, may I not flatter Myself that if any of your Friends or Acquaintance should incline to give the least Credit to the impertinant Assertion..., that your Lordship will do that Justice to my Political

1. D/DBy C9/17.

2. D/DBy C9/18: see also, I.R.Christie, Crisis of Empire Great Britain and the American Colonies 1754-1783 (1966).

3. D/DBy C9/19.

Conduct, that from Experience You think it deserves".¹ In his reply Rockingham although expressing his concern assured Griffin that the abuse did not deserve attention and that the charge was groundless and "be assured that Those who know you, will only look with Contempt on Such Sort of Charges agt. you".² In the following year they corresponded over Powys' motion which aimed at authorising the Conciliation Commission to grant the Americans their independence. It was Sir John's contention that it was not sound policy to acknowledge American independence without some quid pro quo in return, although this is precisely what the Rockinghams were advocating at that time.³ Written communications between them continued and on 1 December⁴ and again on 10 December⁵ Rockingham expressed his wish to see "as many Honest and good men present" over the Keppel-Pallister dispute, and by 15⁶ of that month he stated that he would be happy to see Griffin soon and more particularly the coming Wednesday when naval affairs were to be discussed. This appears to have been the last letter although oral contact between the two men seems certainly to have continued down to Rockingham's death in 1782. This gap in correspondence is almost certainly explained by their different approach to the American question. For although Griffin did not want war, neither did he want to recognise American independence.

1. D/DBy C9/22: see, The Morning Post, May 1777.

2. D/DBy C9/23.

3. D/DBy C9/24.

4. D/DBy C9/25.

5. D/DBy C9/26.

6. D/DBy C9/27.

But if Griffin was not a Chathamite, neither was he a Rockinghamite. Although he supported the Opposition between 1768 and 1782,¹ during the period in which he was closely associated with the Marquis and at the very time which saw the evolution of the political party led in the first instance by Rockingham himself,² to support the Opposition did not necessarily signify that one belonged also to an Opposition party. That this was so is partly evidenced by the tone of Rockingham's letters, for they were not written in the style of a party leader to one of his followers, and equally Griffin's response to them was not in keeping with what might be expected of a member of that party. For although there were occasions when Griffin indicated his political sentiments to Rockingham personally, over the period as a whole he was "more courted than courting".³ That Griffin retained his independence is also borne out by his attendance or otherwise⁴ and as such he remained an independent friend of Rockingham,⁵ casting his vote ultimately on measures and not men, and generally basing his own actions on his own convictions, rather than on the sentiments of others.

That there was no correspondence between 1778 to 1782 is almost certainly due to their different approach to the American question. For although Griffin did not want war, neither did he want to recognise

1. See below.

2. Christie, Myth & Reality, 13-9. See also, J. Canoy, The Fox-North Coalition Crisis of the Constitution, 1782-4 (1969): Foord, op.cit., 301-365.

3. Namier & Brooke, op.cit., II, 55.

4. I.R. Christie, The End of North's Ministry 1780-1782 (1958), 237-8.

5. B. Donoghue, British Politics and the American Revolution The Path to War, 1773-75 (1964), 130-1, 194.

American independence and the subsequent loss of all the North American continent, which Rockingham was prepared to countenance. That Griffin is not known to have applied to Rockingham for a peerage in 1782 suggests that he had not been prepared to throw over his political integrity in regard to the American colonies in pursuit of a seat in the House of Lords. It was partly in this sense that he was closer in spirit to Chatham than to Rockingham; he remained a soldier and was an imperialist on the Chatham model. Despite his dilemma he maintained his integrity and is one of the few members known to have been on good terms with both leaders at a time when both Chatham and Rockingham were on bad terms with each other.

Another dimension to his political career is achieved by raising a second question: how did he conduct himself in the House? This is answered by examining two criteria, his voting record and his speeches. Firstly, his voting record is mainly based in this instance on the seventy seven division lists between 1754 and 1784.¹ As he was an active soldier until 1760 understandably his voting record is limited, as well as there being hardly any divisions at this time. He was on Lord Dupplin's list in May 1754 as being a member of Fox's group. Of the sixteen main lists between December 1761 and February 1768, his name appears on nine of them, and on only two of these occasions did he vote with the opposition. In the Parliament of 1768 to 1774 his name is shown on eight of the twenty five lists, and on seven of these occasions he voted with the opposition. During his fifth Parliament, there were

1. See, Namier & Brooke, op.cit., I, 524-34; I wish to acknowledge my debt to Mr. E. L. C. Mullins and Mr. John Brooke, who very kindly allowed me to use the transcripts of Griffin's voting record in The History of Parliament MSS. For Griffin's voting record see Appendix 1; I have only indicated the pattern of his voting in the text.

in all seventeen lists and he is included in eleven of them, in nine of which he voted with the opposition. In his last complete Parliament there were sixteen lists and he is mentioned in twelve of them. He voted with the Opposition on six consecutive occasions between December 1781 and March 1782, and from that time until the dissolution was at different times classed as doubtful and voted with the Opposition and with the Administration according to the issue. Although returned to the 1784 to 1790 Parliament he had left the Commons before the first division list in April 1785.

This analysis of his voting record between 1761 and 1784 shows that of the forty occasions when his name appears in the division lists, he was classed with the Opposition on twenty five of those occasions, and definitely for the Administration of the day on only ten. On two of the major issues of the day, Wilkes and America, he was consistent in voting with the Opposition, although his conduct was based on principle rather than on party considerations.¹

The second criterion, his recorded speeches,² also reveals an independence of mind. On domestic matters he spoke on several occasions. One of such efforts was cited as having been "much to the purpose",³ and in another, in which he declared that "he should his own way and

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1. On 19 January, 1770, for example, Griffin's name is included with those gentlemen "whose healths were drunk by the electors of Westminster as friends to liberty, and to an enquiry into the present state of national grievances": E.R.O. T/B 171/2, The Chelmsford and Colchester Chronicle.
 2. Namier & Brooke, op.cit., I, 522-3; P.D.G. Thomas, 'The Beginning of Parliamentary Reporting in Newspapers, 1768-1774', in R. Mitchison, Essays in Eighteenth Century History (1966), 187-300. I have quoted two of his speeches in full in appendix 2.
 3. Transcripts History of Parliament, Harris's 'Debates', 19 January 1762 - 19 May, 1762, First Session, 41.

according to evidence"¹, a contemporary commented upon his "manly and spirited observations", adding that "he was much more an intimidating than an intimidated voice".² Generally, Griffin seems to have been moderate in outlook, and genuinely concerned to have "the peace of the public" at heart.³ The same spirit is in evidence in his contributions to the American debate. He wanted to see the "unfortunate" dispute resolved without bloodshed, and here, as elsewhere, he stressed his adherence to principles without regard to men.⁴ As an "honest"⁵ man it was his duty to see that the true interest of the country was consulted and that public affairs were conducted in a creditable manner. He advocated the "supreme legislative authority of this country over its colonies", but disclaimed both the "rash and indiscreet measure of having taxed the Americans" as well as the American "mode of resistance". Griffin was against coercion and conquest, preferring conciliation on terms "suited to the true spirit of the British constitution". In the event of failure he advocated an embargo of sorts on American trade as a measure being less harmful to this country. In the last resort he considered that the loss of America "could never be adequate to the blood and treasure of which this country must be exhausted in the endeavours to recover it, and to preserve it, if in the end victorious". In his recorded speeches he displayed moderation and independence, common sense

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1. Ibid, 16 January 1764 - 19 April 1764, Third Session, 4-5.
 2. W.S. Taylor (ed.), Correspondence of William Pitt, Earl of Chatham, (MDCCLXXVIII), II, 274-5.
 3. Transcripts History of Parliament, Brickdale's 'Debates', 20 March to 11 April 1771, V, 40.
 4. J. Almon, The Parliamentary Register (MDCCLXXV), I, 1774-1775, 233: see appendix 2.
 5. Ibid, III, 87-8; see appendix 2.

and a conciliatory nature. His voice was heard with respect in the Commons.

A three dimensional analysis of his political role can be achieved by raising a further question: to which Parliamentary type did he belong? Using Professor Christie's¹ categories, independents, court and administration group, and party politicians, then the broad answer for Griffin must be that he belonged to the first of these groups. But by also using the types identified by Sir Lewis Namier and Mr. John Brooke,² the composition of the House is seen to be more complex. They include: placemen and pensioners; lawyers and professional men; merchants; army officers; naval officers; country gentlemen; East Indians; West Indians and North Americans. In a social sense, Griffin belonged to the country gentleman category, since in theory every member was such in so far as he had to swear to the possession of landed property, although the term took on a different meaning in a political context. Further, he sat in the interest of a political patron, and to this must be added that he was a member for thirty five years. It is clear therefore that a more precise categorisation is required.

During his first two Parliaments, between 1749 and 1761, his activity in the House was curtailed by military service. But when present he was very much the army officer and belonged to the Fox-Cumberland group until 1757 and continued to give Fox his support over peace preliminaries in 1762. By his third Parliament he was even more busily engaged in pursuing a number of goals. Essentially, he was concerned to win royal approbation in the form of the Order of the Bath as well as pressing for colonelcies of desirable regiments and applying for military governor-

1. Christie, Myth & Reality, 13.

2. Namier & Brooke, op.cit., I, 118-162.

ships. To Chatham he showed his social aspiration in wanting to obtain a peerage. During this Parliament he supported Administration on seven occasions and the Opposition on only two. But it was also in the course of this Parliament that his personal circumstances were undergoing further favourable changes. He was meeting some success in promoting his army career; on the death of his aunt he succeeded to Audley End and was the principal beneficiary under the terms of her will; and continued marks of royal favour in 1765 in extending the grant of five light houses combined to make him more independent financially.¹ That he did not choose to ask for political office is another token of an increasingly independent outlook,² and from 1768 until 1782 he voted with the Opposition.³ By 1772 he could write to his friend Richard Neville that "I shall be very short on Political matters of which I begin to be pretty heartily tired".⁴ It transpired that he had been put on a committee looking at East India matters, but pleading lack of knowledge and inclination he had been released and was enjoying himself at Audley End. It might well be that his extra-mural activities had some bearing on his political conduct?

That this might have been so in no way invalidates his political integrity. His comment to Neville, for example, must be seen against the Royal Marriage Bill, a piece of legislation which he found particularly unpalatable and on which he was being pressed to attend by Rockingham.

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1. The implications of this grant are analysed in chapter 6.
 2. Although it was more usual for army officers to confine their ambitions to their own profession, he might have aimed at one of the politico-military posts, such as master general or lieutenant general of the ordnance.
 3. See also, L.G. Mitchell, Charles James Fox and the Disintegration of the Whig Party 1782-1794 (1971), 270-291; 299-302: J. Norris, Shelburne and Reform (1963), 298-9.
 4. D/DBy C 3/24.

For although fed up with politics at that time, he also confided to Neville that "I hate all appearances of shuffling or not acting up to the Principles a Man avows & professes".¹ He was equally concerned that his own political reputation should be respected, as evidenced by The Morning Post incident and his subsequent appeal to Rockingham to do justice to his political conduct.² Indeed, it is clear that his support was valued by some of the political leaders of the day, and that this was so after the death of his uncle in 1762, is testimony that it was valued for its own sake. It is equally clear that Griffin did not belong to those members "born to hunt with certain Parliamentary packs",³ but, rather, he belonged, at different times, to more than one Parliamentary type? From a young man of thirty in 1749, with his future before him and his career to make, we see in 1784 a sixty five year old man, more worldly wise, with a successful career behind him, and to which can be added other symbols of success. Sir Lewis Namier has commented that "if a man after a certain term in Parliament had nothing to show for it, one was forced to conclude that he was an insignificant and neglected person, 'not an object worthy of consideration' ".⁴ Indeed, contemporaries considered that "to be out of Parliament is to be out of the world",⁵ and in the sense of the world of the ruling group, this comment was not unaccurate, for a seat in the House made for useful contacts. That Griffin should behave accordingly was natural. But in doing so he

1. Ibid.

2. D/DBY C9/22.

3. Namier, Structure, 4.

4. Namier, Structure, 4.

5. Ibid., 1.

did not compromise his political independence. He ultimately belonged rather to those members who were independent in a political sense, that they hoped to receive favours from the Administration but were not prepared to vote against their conscience on a point of real principle.¹ In both those areas in which he showed ambition, he pointed out that he wished his applications to be considered on merit.

But although a seat in the House was an ideal shared by many a young Englishman, to remain there was not always the full extent of such ambition, but rather a means to ulterior aims. Equally, although many members thought of a seat in the upper chamber as a natural way of rounding off a career in the Commons, the successful ones had first to surmount considerable obstacles, and it by no means followed that service in the Commons would guarantee a seat in the Lords. This was, however, the goal that Griffin was so desirous to obtain. He had confided to Chatham in 1766 that he had no other at heart, and in so doing had at once revealed that an absence of political ambition was compensated for by social motivation. He therefore belonged to another type, the social climbers.² Down to 1784 the peerage remained a fairly close circle,³ but in that year there was a burst of new creations.

The premise on which Griffin's claim rested remained the same as that of almost twenty years earlier, but by 1784 the political scene was very different. He made his application through the Younger Pitt,

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1. R. Pares, King George III and the Politicians (Oxford 1967 reprint), 10. See also, W.T. Laprade (ed.) The Parliamentary Papers of John Robinson, 1774-1784 (1922), 14.
 2. Namier, op. cit., 11-14.
 3. See, H.J. Habakkuk, 'England', in A. Goodwin (ed.) The European Nobility in the Eighteenth Century Studies of the Nobilities of the major European states in the pre-Reform Era (1967 ed.), 1-21.

who undertook to expedite the matter with the King.¹ Having been associated with Chatham and supporting Pitt, Griffin was ready to spell his claims in detail. In this petition² he traced the creation and subsequent descent of the Howard de Walden title. His claim³ rested on the marriage of Lady Essex Howard, the eldest daughter of the 3rd Lord Howard de Walden and 3rd Earl of Suffolk, to the 1st Lord Griffin. But as there had been a second daughter, Griffin claimed as the elder co-heir, the younger co-heir being the Earl of Bristol. Also delivered with his petition was a document showing his descent on the Griffin side, his uncle, the 3rd and last Lord Griffin having died in 1742. He reminded his Majesty that he occupied the very mansion that had been built by the 1st Lord Howard de Walden and owned the estate as well as being Lord of the ancient manors of Brook and Chipping Walden. Griffin was impressing upon the King that he possessed the best qualifications for admittance into the peerage, namely that he held a landed estate and that members of his family had previously held titles.

But his claim was also helped by Lord Bristol's cooperation. The Earl withdrew and on 15 June 1784 stated that he was happy to have it in his power "to remove any obstacle to a Pursuit you have so much at heart".⁴ On Lord Bristol's advice, Griffin had written to the Earl's son, Lord Hervey, who wrote of "how happy I am at all times...of any event likely to happen that can be of any advantage to yourself". It might well be

1. See A.S. Turberville, The House of Lords in the Age of Reform 1784-1837 (1958), 42-54.

2. D/DBY L2.

3. See genealogy table, illustration 2.

4. Both these letters, one from the Earl of Bristol and the other from Lord Hervey, are included in D/DBY L2, on which source most of this discussion is based.

that as well as aiding Sir John in the short run, the Herveys were also doing themselves a good turn in the long run. At sixty five, it was becoming less likely that he would have natural heirs to succeed him, so that the title would again fall into abeyance. This is what happened and the title was successfully claimed by the Bishop Earl of Bristol in 1807, before passing to the Scott-Ellis family, where it remains today.

On 24 June 1784 the petition was referred to the Attorney General. On 3 July he reported to the King that in his opinion Griffin had proved his pedigree and with the Earl of Bristol was co-heir to the Howard de Walden title, and that his Majesty had "an undoubted right" to allow and confirm the Barony either on Griffin or Lord Bristol. But as the title had been in abeyance since 1687, it was held that claims of such an "important nature ought to be thoroughly investigated and considered", and so the petition was referred to the House of Lords and on to the Lords Committee for Privileges which finally met on 22 July, but did not give a decision.

The protracted nature of these proceedings coupled with the experience of his earlier abortive attempt were taking their toll on Sir John. By 28 July¹ both he and his Lady were "still in a state of anxiety about the Peerage", and his sister in law, Marianne Clayton, wrote that she hoped it would be finally resolved "for there is nothing so tiresome as a long course of uncertainty, and it also gives Sir John an amazing deal of trouble". It transpired that a decision had not been reached due to lack of evidence, but, she added in her letter to her brother, "as everybody seems to agree in the justice of the claim, I should hope no more

1. Bucks R.O. D/CE; letter 6.

reasons will be found to defer it". In another letter¹ on 30 July it was the same topic that occupied her thoughts. She confided that Sir John "has so much business now, that I think that if it lasts much longer, he will quite worry himself ill, and there is nothing so tiresome as uncertainty, when one moment you think yourself sure of obtaining what you wish, and the next, you give up all hopes of it; however I flatter myself Sir John will be rewarded at last for his trouble, by succeeding in his claim, which everybody seems to think is perfectly clear". Obviously feeling the strain, Griffin did not relax his efforts, and from the same eye witness, we learn that she "never did so much business for anybody in my life as I did for him during the Month I spent in Burlington Street,² when I was honored with being one of his Secretaries". On 3 August the Lords Committee reported to the King that they had met, heard counsel, examined witnesses upon oath and had inspected the appropriate records, and it had been resolved that the Barony was in abeyance and that the petition was from one of the co-heirs of the last Lord Howard de Walden. On the same day the Committee's resolution was approved by the House of Lords and laid before the King. Two days later Griffin was summoned by King's Writ to attend Parliament. On 9 August he attended the House of Lords and after the customary ceremony took his place on the Baron's Bench as the fourth Lord Howard de Walden.

That his application had met with so much difficulty was largely due to the nature of his claim. Although he had intimated to Chatham that he would have been pleased to accept a new creation, his aim from the

1. Ibid, letter 7.

2. Griffin's Town house: see Part II.

start had been to recall the Howard de Walden title of his great-grandfather. Not only had this title been in abeyance, but Griffin himself was only a co-heir, enjoying only half of the original Audley End estate. But even new creations were difficult to come by and even owners of large estates sometimes found to their cost that "the final prize might still evade them",¹ and only gradually in the century did service² in the state become a recommendation for a seat in the Lords.

Although he was not particularly active in the House of Lords³ generally he was favourable to Pitt's government and in 1788 he received an additional title when he was created first Baron Braybrooke of Braybrooke. Bringing further pleasure and prestige this second title was of dual significance.⁴ In the first place it represented his descent from the Griffins of Braybrooke, and was particularly fitting because it had been the marriage between the 1st Lord Griffin and Lady Essex Howard that had enabled him to claim the Howard de Walden title. Secondly, and perhaps with greater significance as far as the future owners of Audley End were concerned, it was this title that passed to his successor, Richard Aldworth Neville, in whose family the title has remained.

1. Mingay, English Landed Society, 26-7.

2. He received a congratulatory letter from the electors at Andover, D/DBy C9/39.

"My Lord,

We beg leave most sincerely to congratulate you on your having had conferred on you some of the Honours of your Ancestors.

Tho' we rejoice at this Event, yet it gives us great Concern, that we must be deprived of the Parliamentary Connections which have subsisted between us for near Forty Years, during which long space we have observed your zeal to serve the Nation in general and this Borough in Particular, and for which we offer You our best and most grateful Thanks..."

3. A. Aspinall (ed.) Correspondence of George III (1962) I, Number 458. I have examined the printed records of the House of Lords Debates for the period 1784-1797, and my thanks are also due to the librarian at the House of Lords Library.

4. D/DBy C5/15: he also purchased the estate of Braybrooke at this time, see Part IV.

CHAPTER 4 : COUNTY AND LOCALITY.

The hold that members of the landed group exercised in Parliament was also mirrored at county and local levels, and as landownership was the essential prerequisite of political power, it was local government in particular that "most perfectly reflected the proportional influence of graduated property".¹ In this chapter an analysis will be made of Griffin's role in an official and unofficial capacity: officially, as Lord Lieutenant and Vice Admiral of Essex; unofficially, as the dominant landowner in north west Essex. Together, they demonstrate the view held by some contemporaries that the landowner "naturally stands in a great station, as he is one of the strongest links in society, between government and the lower order of mankind".²

Firstly, to consider Griffin as Lord Lieutenant. On 8 November, 1784,³ the Younger Pitt wrote to George III stating that upon "finding no difficulty on the part of Lord Waldegrave⁴ respecting the Lieutenancy of Essex, he conceives it will be your Majesty's pleasure that Lord Howard's request should be complied with". In his reply⁵ on the same day the King stated that the "first day Lord Howard can attend at St. James's he may be presented to the Lieutenancy of Essex". Griffin did so on 17 November and he was duly appointed by his Majesty.⁶ It was through Pitt that he had gained entry into the peerage, and it was

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1. Perkin, The Origins of Modern English Society, 40.
 2. N. Kent, Hints to Gentlemen of Landed Property... (1793), 279.
 3. A. Aspinall (ed.) The Later Correspondence of George III, vi, Dec. 1783 to Jan. 1793. (Cambridge 1962), letter 146
 4. The Waldegrave estate was situated in Essex: see, F.G. Emmison, Guide to the Essex Record Office, (Chelmsford 1969), 154.
 5. Aspinall, op.cit.
 6. D/DBy 0 10: the commission approving his appointment was drawn up a year later, see D/DBy 011.

again through that statesman, who was advancing persons on whose support he could rely, that he became Lord Lieutenant. One of the main features of local government during this period was the wide powers exercised locally by the justices of the peace and the corresponding lack of supervision by the central government. The Lord Lieutenant, although his position was one of honour, stood at the head of the justices and he also controlled the county militia. Where one family did not dominate the county in terms of wealth and size of estate, as was the case in Essex, the appointment could be made on political or at least on personal grounds. Although in peace time the duties of the Lord Lieutenant might be minimal, in war years he was an important figure. In the main, Sir John faced two types of problems, miscellaneous and specific.

In dealing with miscellaneous problems, one of his first tasks was to appoint, on 25 March, 1785, William Bullock as clerk of the peace for the county in place of Samuel Ennew who had resigned.¹ This was an important appointment, and as it happened, an excellent one,² because the post was a responsible one, most of the work of the lieutenancy being carried out by the clerk on behalf of the Lord Lieutenant. The Lieutenancy Minutes³ indicate the administrative role of the clerk, the delegation of authority, and the conveyance of instructions from the central government to the county at large. The Quarter Sessions

1. E.R.O. T/B 171/6.

2. Sir E. Stephens, The Clerks of the Counties 1360-1960 (1961), 85.

3. E.R.O.L/M: these records cover the period 1762-1854 (44 volumes); for our purposes those volumes covering the years 1784 to 1797 have been consulted.

Records¹ also show the close relationship, at times, between the clerk and the lord lieutenant, mentioning for example, the former's several attendances on the latter to discuss county business and to receive instructions.

Another duty to befall him fairly early in his lieutenancy was to propose an address to the King in the summer of 1786. On 8 September the Chelmsford and Colchester Chronicle² published a copy of this address which had been unanimously agreed by the principal gentlemen of the county at the meeting convened by the High Sheriff.³ This particular address was but a small part of a much more general response that resulted from the first attempt on his Majesty's life.⁴ Demonstrating the King's popularity with his subjects, it was as fitting as it was to be expected that the leading county families should want to proclaim their loyalty to and sympathy with the royal family.

As the post was also one of honour, it was expected that the holder would as the occasion demanded lead the list of subscribers to a worthy cause. There could be few worthier causes for the lord lieutenant than to support the building of a new shire hall. The new shire hall had recently been built by John Johnson,⁵ and it was fitting that Griffin

1. For example, E.R.O. Q/SBb 351/15: Easter session 1793.

2. E.R.O.T/B 171/6.

3. This was another royal appointment and he was head of the county court: the under sheriff usually did most of the work and the court was limited to trying cases of no more than forty shillings.

4. This attempt had taken place on 2 August at St. James' as the King had alighted from his horse, and had been made by a mentally unbalanced woman.

5. John Johnson (1732-1814), became the surveyor of Essex from 1782, and his work in the county included the bridge over the Can in Chelmsford as well as the Shire Hall. He also designed a number of country houses in the county, such as Terling Place, Bradwell Lodge and possibly a limited amount of work at Audley End.

should head the list of subscribers with a gift of £50¹ for the purpose of furnishing the new county room, and equally appropriate that he should visit the new premises to add his official seal of approval.²

On other occasions, it might be to inform his fellow county officials of the central government's intentions of taking measures impinging upon the populace as a whole. For instance, on 16 July, 1787,³ Sir John communicated to the magistrates of the county that he had three days earlier received a letter from Lord Sidney, Home Secretary, instructing him to convene a meeting to discuss the recent proclamation for preventing vice, profaneness and immorality. As the Assizes were approaching and as county business would draw them "pretty much together", for their convenience he requested that they meet him at the shire hall on Monday 23 July, at twelve noon, when he would show them Sydney's letter so that they might consider the best ways of implementing the recommendations made. The meeting took place, Griffin was in attendance and several resolutions were proposed and agreed.⁴

But the extent and nature of the lord lieutenant's duties depended on prevailing conditions. Such conditions could translate themselves into problems and might well stem from matters that were non local in origin, although it was in a local context that the lord lieutenant was called upon to confront and solve them. Basically, Griffin faced three specific problems: they were political, military and economic, and they all occurred in the 1790's, and were symptomatic of those troubled times,

1. E.R.O. T/B 171/8; 27 May, 1791.

2. Ibid; 15 July, 1791.

3. E.R.O. T/B 171/7; 20 July, 1787.

4. Ibid; 27 July, 1787.

and as such he encountered local manifestations of much larger and wider issues.

One of the effects of the French Revolution of 1789 upon the political life of this country was to intensify the call for reform. As the events became more republican and more violent in France, the government in this country became more alarmed and in May 1792 it clamped down on riotous meetings and seditious publications. It was to the local magistrates that the central government looked for the implementation of its measures. At Saffron Walden, an Association for Suppressing Sedition was called into being by the mayor and this was presided over by Sir John.¹ As well as being Lord Lieutenant of the county he was also Recorder of the town and the largest landowner in the parish. His contribution to these proceedings can be measured in three ways. He attended the first meeting on 7 December, 1792, and again on 26 December. At the second meeting he took the chair and was a member of the committee formed to see that resolutions agreed were in fact carried out. Finally, it is clear that he played a part in determining what course local action should take. At the initial meeting it was agreed to accept resolutions defending the Constitution after the example of London and other places. Those who distributed seditious literature were to be prosecuted and one Christopher Payne,² a dissenting bookseller whose name was not inappropriate, was ordered to be prosecuted, and the expenses involved were to be met by the central government.³

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1. S.W.Mus.Association for Suppressing Sedition, 1792, 6: discussion of this episode is based on this source unless indicated otherwise.
 2. E.R.O. Q/SBb 351/28.
 3. Payne was accused of publishing the second part of Tom Paine's Rights of Man, and although a draft of a jury presentment against him has survived, apparently the case was not proceeded with.

Four copies of the resolution were to be circulated in the Chelmsford and Colchester Chronicle, the County, the World and the Cambridge Chronicle, and on this score Griffin was following, in part, the example of Henry Dundas, Home Secretary, by using the press.¹ A further five hundred copies were printed for general distribution, for it was important to show that appropriate action was being taken, as much to discourage other would-be radicals as to encourage other magistrates and officers. A second line of action was that all publicans² were to prevent, as best they could, seditious conversations in their houses and they were to be diligent in apprehending all persons who might have circulated treasonable pamphlets and hand bills or "uttering words that have a direct Tendency to alienate the Minds of Men from the King and Constitution". Any publican known to fail would not have his license renewed. Thirdly, their action attempted to involve as many of the local inhabitants as possible and further copies of the resolutions were left in the Rose and Crown Inn until the evening of 1 January 1793, so that signatures of those who missed the meeting might be added. Thanks were recorded to the mayor for convening the initial meeting and to Sir John for his conduct as chairman. That this matter was dealt with expeditiously was, one suspects, in no small part due to Griffin's straightforward and businesslike approach, and his experience of public life and

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1. Henry Dundas tried to stamp out sedition by coercion and by subsidising the "loyal" press, for example the Scottish newspaper the Herald, received secret service money in 1792-3. See, A. Aspinall, Politics and the Press c.1780-1850 (1949), 351.
 2. Fox, in a speech on 13 December 1792, denounced the doctrine that publicans were to be made the judges of sedition and libel, and that magistrates were to allow political motives to enter into consideration of granting or withholding licenses, Aspinall, op.cit., 43-4.

indeed training as a soldier all combined to see that prompt action would be taken and that their deliberations should end on a positive note. It was important to him that action should back up words, and as Lord Lieutenant it was equally important that he should set a good example.¹

The second problem he encountered was economic, culminating in riots in 1795. A bad harvest², high prices and the effects of the French war combined to have immediate repercussions on the lives of the poor in many parts of the country, and Essex was not exceptional. Among the many parts of the county³ to suffer was the Lord Lieutenant's own neighbourhood of Saffron Walden and its vicinity. His involvement in this episode too, shows his concern as the dominant landowner as well as Lord Lieutenant, although, as in the previous incident, his action was backed by the authority he derived from being Lieutenant of the county, and it is in that light that we shall examine his role.

Firstly, he anticipated that a shortage of food might be realised and attempted to make some provision and to avoid civil disturbance. The Board of Agriculture was issuing articles on the potato in the hope of persuading people to use it as a substitute for bread.⁴

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1. See, E.S. Maccoby, English Radicalism 1786-1832 From Paine to Cobbett (1955).
 2. 1795 was one of a series of bad years: in 1793 rain had damaged the harvest, there had been a drought in 1794, and in 1795 poor weather followed a hard winter with frost damaging the wheat. Trade was also dislocated during the wet cold summer of 1795. See also, E.R.O. D/DL E72.
 3. See, A.F.J. Brown, Essex at Work 1700-1815 (Chelmsford 1969), 162. There had also been riots earlier in the century, for example in 1740 and 1772, and Horace Walpole recorded "Great insurrections at Sudbury, Colchester, and Chelmsford, on the immoderate dearness of provisions". See, Walpole, Journal of the Reign of George the Third From the Year 1771 to 1783 (1822), v.i, 88. See also, R.B. Rose, '18 Century Price Riots and Public Policy in England', Inter.Rev.Soc.Hist. v.6 (1961), 272-92.
 4. J.C. Drummond & Anne Wilbraham, The Englishman's Food A History of Five Centuries of English Diet (1957 ed.), 181.

In a sense Griffin acted upon such intelligence. As the price of potatoes rose he purchased 3,000 bushels in the hope of saving "our Poor from paying an exorbitant Price". He had hidden them in a large pit under one of his barns from whence they would be delivered at the appropriate time and sold at a reasonable price.¹

Secondly, as Lord Lieutenant he was fully appraised of the deteriorating situation at both national and county levels. Communications² from the central government concerning the scarcity of wheat and means to increase the quantity of meal were received and then passed on to the grand jury and magistrates, and in turn passed on to the county at large. On other occasions it was endeavouring to ensure the free circulation of what corn was available and to prevent all attempts at obstructing such policy that was passed on via Griffin to William Bullock.³

Thirdly, with this additional information at his disposal, he was particularly well equipped to keep a close watch on more local developments.⁴ The parish officers at Walden had adopted a plan that he had suggested to them as he was anxious that his own parish should have a regular system and that the poor should be left in no doubt as to what they had to expect. But he was critical of the way the problem had been handled earlier on, and having personally examined the accounts he trusted that he had put an end to the mismanagement. He considered that prevention was better than cure, and felt that if reasonable care was taken of the poor "We might defie all attempts to Tumults or Riots - or at lest

1. D/DBy C4 B/2.

2. For example, E.R.O. Q/SBb 360/4,4,29,30,32,33,34.

3. E.R.O.Q/SBb 361/8.

4. S.W.Bor.Offs.Parish Meeting Books 1793-99; D/DBy 012.

nip them in the Budd".¹ His close interest in the efforts of the local officers continued. On 17 July,² for example, he sent three notes timed at 12 noon, 3 o'clock and another later on, making it clear that he wished to be kept fully informed of latest developments, and when the town clerk was slow off the mark on one occasion, he was severely reprimanded by Sir John. Wishing to keep the officers on their toes, he wrote again on 18 July³ enquiring whether the mayor had taken any steps to arrange a meeting of the corporation, and if so, at what time. As Lord Lieutenant, he let it be known that he hoped that members of the corporation would adopt the measures recommended by the Privy Council and also by the magistrates of the county at their Quarter Sessions meeting. But he also held opinions of his own. He felt that it was "our Business to get sufficient stock of Wheat or Flour in hand to supplie the Whole Parish - but none but the Poor ought to be consider'd in it's Price, let it be What it may".⁴ He wanted to know the numbers of people issued with tickets to purchase bread below the market price and he considered that if necessary it would be better "to give a longer Number of Tickets for the reduc'd Prices of the Quatern Loaves".⁵ Feeling that it would

1. D/DBy C4 B/2.

2. S.W.Bor.Offs. Food Riots F¹.

3. Ibid, F².

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid: See also, T.R.Gourish, "A Note on Bread Prices in London and Glasgow, 1788-1815", Jnl.Econ.Hist., XXX (Dec.1970), 854-860. The average price of the quatern loaf in London in 1795 was 10¹/₄ d. and in 1796 10¹/₂d. At Saffron Walden tickets were issued to the poor - at one time 1,254 persons in a week - to buy bread at 3d. below the market price. For a discussion of the living standard of the poor in Essex see Brown, op.cit., 129-133.

be impossible to proceed without further levies, it seemed to him that "the Poor only ought to be attended to in the low Price...& that all other Persons in the Parish should pay the fair and full Prices for the Bread they eat - let the flour or Wheat cost what it will".¹

Fourthly, his thinking had been translated into more practical help by offering to pay two guineas over and above every load of wheat brought to the mayor, who had been authorised to buy all the corn he could at the rate of £26 per load.² To ensure that his offer might have maximum effect, Sir John requested the town clerk to have such information printed as hand bills so that suppliers from a wider area might be encouraged to bring their wheat to Walden. No doubt feeling that his concern should be seen to extend beyond his own neighbourhood, he gave assurances that should the local people be adequately supplied, the earliest notice would be given.³

Fifthly, he made contacts outside Saffron Walden. In a letter to a Mr. Black, he explained that a bargain made between the mayor of Walden and a Mr. Horner had only been partly fulfilled.⁴ It transpired that the mayor had taken unfair advantage of Horner's nephew, who had actually delivered the corn. As a result of Griffin's intervention, Black assured him that the supplier in question "will (out of respect for your Lordship) serve the town of Walden with what he can spare at a fair market price".

Finally, when, by the end of July, conditions had worsened, heeding

1. Ibid, F³.

2. Ibid, D¹ & D².

3. Ibid, D².

4. On the morning of 27 July "a small party of the mob came to Audley End to force away the labourers, but we e timely stopt by Lord Howard": Hervey, (ed.), Journals of William Hervey...1755-1815, 410.

the mayor's appeal, Sir John acted promptly in calling in the military to put down the riot and to restore law and order. Lord Cornwallis at Warley was unable to offer assistance, but Lord Onslow at Lexden was, and the commanding officer made known his personal pleasure to defend Audley End and its neighbourhood. Griffin had given it as his opinion that two troops "might with an experienced Officer, keep the whole neighbourhood in awe",¹ and he had further recommended that one troop be sent for the immediate protection of Walden and the other be quartered at Dunmow and Thaxted. The Walden troops were to put themselves under the Lord Lieutenant's command. By 5 August, after some desperate moments in Walden, Griffin could write that the presence of the troops had produced the desired effect, and that four of the principal leaders had already been committed to the county gaol for trial, and that another was under bail. By 22 August the presence of the troops was no longer required and the inhabitants of Saffron Walden recorded their "very hearty thanks for the very great Attention shewn by your Lordship in procuring the Troops for the Defence of the Town." Throughout this episode his concern for the well being of the poor was in evidence and in his dealings with the local corporation he had displayed his customary forthrightness. But as Lord Lieutenant, he was able to hold a wider view of these troubles and as such he was particularly concerned to maintain law and order, especially as the country was at war.

By 1796 France was in a position to threaten invasion and the east coast, particularly East Anglia and Essex, were, as always when invasion was threatened from Europe, vulnerable.² That it is possible to account

1. D/DBy 012. . .

2. See, J.L. Cranmer-Byng, 'Essex Prepares for Invasion, 1796-1805', Essex Rev. v.lxi, 43-7, 57-74.

in more detail of the Lord Lieutenant's activities during these troubled years, we are indebted to a Mr. Tanner, who was almost certainly chief clerk to the Clerk of the General Meetings from 12 November 1796 to 14 January 1797, and who, in that capacity, kept a journal of events.¹ Meetings were usually held once a quarter and were presided over by the Lord Lieutenant and attended by deputy lieutenants. As a result of the 1796 Acts² more frequent meetings were held and fuller minutes were kept. They show how assiduously Sir John performed his duties as a link between the Privy Council and those on whom the defence of the county would rest in the event of a French invasion. Circular letters³ from the Duke of Portland, the Home Secretary, and replies from Griffin⁴ deal with the exercising and training of the supplementary militia,⁵ how it should be ministered and even with such minutiae as the proper clothing of the militia men.⁶ Sir John was closely involved with the siting of barracks⁷ and almost up to the moment of his death with the provision of suitable

1. E.R.O. L/C 7.

2. Two acts passed in 1796 were aimed at raising a Supplementary Militia and two Provisional Cavalry.

3. E.R.O. L/M 35, 1-17 ; also included were communications from Henry Dundas, Secretary at War.

4. Ibid, 31-35; 119-132.

5. Ibid, 36-41; 42-45; 52-58.

6. Ibid, 31-35; 52-58; 103-108.

7. Ibid, 81-84; it was Griffin who proposed that the Eastern battalion or division be trained at Colchester and the Western division at Chelmsford, and although there was some opposition he adhered to his proposal which was agreed in February 1797; 85-95; 119-132.

officers¹ and with reports on the live and dead stock in the coastal areas and how they could be moved if invasion became imminent.²

In the meantime, on 1 May, 1795, Griffin had succeeded Lord Rochford as Vice Admiral of Essex.³ In September of that year he wrote to the Admiralty seeking clarification of orders he had received and "Adressed to me as Vice Admiral of Essex", for although it had been proposed that he should accept the office "never having heard any more about it or of any Appointment to I am at loss to know if there should any".⁴ A fairly prompt reply⁵ from the Admiralty confirmed that a commission had been granted the previous May, but it had not been taken out. The writer also informed that apart from appointing deputies in different parts of the county to ensure that orders of the Council were implimented, the "duty, if anything is trifling, the principal part of it at least being done by the Customs and in the present case I believe has been done".

The operative word would seem to have been deputy, for what followed were a number of applications to the Vice Admiral for the post of deputy for the port of Colchester,⁶ which inturn resulted in Sir John making further enquiries as to what was expected of him as Vice Admiral. Again he was told that "there are neither duties nor emoluments, but merely honour".⁷ It is difficult to know whether he was more concerned to

1. Ibid, 52-58; 59-68; 92-102; 103-108; 154-160; 167-170; the appointment of Daniel Scratton as Lieutenant Colonel of the Western corps of the provisional cavalry was one of Sir John's last acts as Lord Lieutenant, in April 1797.

2. Ibid, 103-108; 109-114.

3. D/DBy 014/13 and D/DBy 013.

4. D/DBy 014.

5. D/DBy 014/4; for the traditional duties of the Vice Admiral, see E.R.O. L/V 1/1.

6. D/DBy 014/6.

7. D/DBy 014/7.

ascertain if the post carried remuneration or to find out what duties were expected of him, or whether he was in fact acting cautiously as he had received another application for the Colchester post.¹ On the other hand it might well be that he was concerned to know what his duties were as he had already experienced complaints in conjunction with his ownership of the light houses on the coast of Norfolk and Suffolk.² Apparently remaining unsatisfied with explanations from the Admiralty he wrote to the Customs House only to be told that the Admiralty order that he had received "is a mere matter of form or Compliment to your Lordship as Vice Admiral".³ Still unconvinced he approached the Admiralty yet again only to be told that the office "seems to be merely Titular".⁴ Indeed, apart from the applications and a communication from the controller and searcher for the port of Colchester informing him that he was entitled to all the wrecks that occurred on the Essex shores subject to the usual salvage, there appeared to be little else of note.⁵ Perhaps the most favourable light in which this episode can be seen is that Griffin possessed a very high sense of duty and that he wanted to know where he stood, as well as reminding us of his advanced age at that time.

But if he needed some assurance in the penultimate year of his life,

1. D/DBy 014/8.

2. Trinity House: on 15 September, 1763, for example, Griffin wrote to his agent stating that although fortunately no public complaint had been made it "is our duty, who are the Possessors and Guardians of Them to take all the Care in our Power, that there be no foundation for any Complaints".

3. D/DBy 014/11.

4. D/DBy 014/12.

5. D/DBy 014/14 and D/DBy 014/17.

this had not always been the case. In former years he had acted positively, and nowhere was this more in evidence than in his exercise of the social power of property, defined by one modern scholar as "the influence of the landowner, larger or smaller, over a wider or narrower stretch of countryside".¹ One of the characteristics of the English ruling group was that it had learned the "amphibious art"² of dominating both town and countryside by its very presence. There are instances of Sir John showing preference for Audley End³ and not surprisingly this interest should extend to the life of the surrounding countryside. This analysis of his role in an unofficial capacity will be based on the following criteria: his response to schemes; as benefactor and as agent of economic activity.

Firstly, to examine his response to two very different types of schemes; one concerning the writing of the history of the county of Essex and the other concerning a projected navigation. In January 1765, the Reverend Philip Morant⁴ wrote to Griffin, and included a copy of his proposal and intimated that some members of the nobility had agreed to adorn his history of the county with good prints of their seats. He assured Griffin that should he do likewise "of your Princely Seat Audley End, it would be a very great Favour both to the Public & to the Author", and perhaps, for good measure, he added that he had been informed that

1. Perkin, op.cit., 41.

2. Ibid, 42. See also, Habakkuk, 'England' 4 in Goodwin, European Nobility in the Eighteenth Century. "From some eighteenth century memoirs one might suppose that England was a federation of country houses".

3. D/DBY C3/24.

4. Philip Morant (1700-1770) held seven Essex livings at different times, becoming curate of Great Waltham in 1724, when Nicholas Tindal, the historian, was vicar. See, A.C. Edwards, A History of Essex with Maps and Pictures (1958), 60.

"You have been making great Improvements there: And that You may long enjoy them, is the Sincere Wish..."¹ Griffin's pride in his forebears having already been awakened it was not surprising that he should want to identify himself with Morant's efforts. He promised the reverend gentleman his subscription and assured him that "I will furnish You with a View of Audley End, as soon as I have had one completed to my Satisfaction". This enthusiasm for Morant's project found further expression in a footnote in which he added that "I will endeavour also to give You ye best historical Acct. in my Power of this Place from ye Dissolution of the Monasteries".²

This happy relationship continued and in March Morant wrote mentioning that among other factors he had collected material on Audley End which he enclosed for Sir John "to peruse them, and to let me know wherein I may be mistaken". He explained that he was obliged to be concise otherwise the work "would swell to an enormous bulk" and concluded by mentioning that the historical account that Griffin had referred to would be extremely useful and acceptable.³ A projected meeting between them at Sir John's Town house had to be called off, and as Morant was still uncertain on some points, he wrote enclosing a questionnaire so that Griffin could insert his own observations. He added that "as the work may possibly last, I would desire it to be as True and Exact as possible".⁴

In May Griffin wrote mentioning that as he had been confined to his Town house for some weeks as the result of a fever, it was his intention of getting away to Audley End "for Change of Air", and suggested that

1. B.M.Add.Ms.34650, f.138.

2. B.M.Add.Ms.34650, f.52.

3. D/DBy C8/46.

4. D/DBy C8/48a; this document is not dated.

Morant might meet him there, so that "we could much more satisfactorily settle the matter in Question, than is possible by my writing". He assured Morant that he would be provided with a well aired bed and a hearty welcome.¹ The point at issue was the name Audley End. In June Sir John informed Morant that it was his opinion that the house's original name had been corrupted, as a house built in memory of any person could not have received the appellation of "End". He suggested that the house had been linked with the hamlet at the "end" of Walden, and that the original name of Audley House, for which he possessed documentary evidence, had been corrupted. Having strong feelings on the matter, he requested Morant to "be so good to set this matter right, & favor Me first with a Sight of ye Parts You shall insert",² to which request Morant obliged. "The vulgar name of Audley End is improper, it belonging to the Hamlet or Village near it. Audley House is the right name, according to old writings".³

Having assured himself and his house a place in the county's history, it might have seemed natural that when other schemes threatened to harm his country seat and estate, his response should be very different. This is precisely what happened when a projected navigation was mooted in north west Essex.⁴ For our purposes two routes were considered: the first considered extending the canal from Bishop Stortford to Cambridge,

1. B.M.Add.Ms. 34650, f.54.

2. B.M.Add.Ms.34650, f.55.

3. D/DBy C8/48b. The relationship had not been confined to Griffin's assisting Morant, for it transpired that the latter had been engaged in finding out about the Griffins of Dingley, see B.M.Add.Ms.34650, f.57. Griffin was unable to supply the plate requested and apologised to Morant, see, B.M.Add.Ms.34650, f.59.

4. For earlier schemes, see, T.S.Willan, River Navigation in England 1600-1750 (1936) 11, 79: T.S.Willan, The English Coasting Trade 1600-1750 (1938), XIV.

and the alternative scheme was to extend the canal from Bishop Stortford to the River Brandon in Norfolk.¹ The projected navigation had been discussed since 1779,² but it was not until 1788³ that more positive action was taken.⁴ The scheme was supported by the tradespeople of Saffron Walden by which town the canal was to pass, and was promoted by the City of London Committee of the Thames and Canal Navigation,⁵ and was to form part of a larger and more ambitious scheme.⁶

Sir John reacted to the projected navigation in several ways. Firstly, he stated his willingness to receive in writing the thoughts of the inhabitants of Saffron Walden so that he could consider the matter and then grant them the interview they desired.⁷ The mayor informed Griffin that the scheme would bring benefits to the town and that it could be effected without prejudice to the Audley End estate, and that they were desirous of his "countenance and support".⁸ In his reply

1. Inst. Civ. Eng. Lib: John Rennie Reports, v.1, 1 March 1790 to 1 July 1802, 79-99: see also, F.H. Maud, "Notes on an Essex Canal", E.R., LIV (1945), 143-145; LVII (1948), 151-153.
2. D/DBY P3/2-3; Corp.London R.O: Journals of Common Council, No.71, f.123-126. I wish to thank Mr. John Booker, senior Assistant Archivist at the Essex Record Office for this reference.
3. D/DBY P3/4.
4. S.W.Mus: Cam Navigation, No.3.
5. Corp.Lond.R.O: Journals of Common Council, No.71, f.125: on this occasion Whitworth was paid £150 15s. for surveying and preparing his plan and profile of the intended canal and a Mr. Faden £45 19s. for engraving two plates and a section and printing 400 hundred of each.
6. P.A.L. Vine, London's Lost Route to the Sea An historical account of the inland navigations which linked the Thames to the English Channel (1965): at the same time the Wey and Arun canal between Surrey and Sussex were being discussed, and along with the Cam navigation this would have resulted in a waterway between Arundel and King's Lynn. See also, C. Hadfield, The Canals of South and South East England (1969), 118-150.
7. S.W.Mus: Cam Navigation, No.3.
8. Ibid.

Sir John mentioned that the only plan that he had seen indicated that the canal was to go some miles south-south east of Audley End and that should such a plan be brought forward he would not object¹. But a second survey was carried out so that the best plan of taking the canal to Walden could be devised. It was this change of course that brought forth a very different reaction from Griffin, for the new route would have cut across part of his estate. A pamphlet² produced at this time purported to review the evidence for and against the scheme, and as such reiterated that it would bring immense benefit to the people of Walden. Understandably, there was a clash of interests between Sir John and his immediate neighbours. His second reaction was, therefore, to safeguard his own property, which in this instance also meant opposing the scheme. It was his contention that in the event of the canal passing across his lands, either to the west of the house³ or to the south of the house,⁴ it would nonetheless devalue as well as destroy the beauty of his property. Oral contact, correspondence and use of the press resulted and it is not difficult to appreciate both sides of the argument. The episode had its amusing side, too, as is evidenced by a letter to the press from a certain

1. Ibid: 2 August, 1788.

2. Ibid: D/DBy E33.

3. D/DBy P3/2: this plan would have taken the canal over the Audley End estate between the Adam temple and the river Cam and as such would have been visible from some of the principal apartments; see illustration 3.

4. D/DBy P3/4: this plan would have taken the canal between the house and the town of Walden and part of it would have been tunnelled and as such would not have been quite as visible; see illustration 4. See Corp. Lond. R.O: Journals of Common Council, No.71, f.126; where both plans are discussed. See also, J. Phillips, A Treatise on Inland Navigation... (1785): this includes a plan for extending the navigation from Bishop Stortford to Cambridge "without passing through the Grounds or Parks of Shotgrove or Audley End; by which the Opposition that has been always made by the Noble Owners of those Grounds is obviated, and a direct Conveyance from Cambridge to London, by Water, may be carried into execution".

"Patty of Walden" who requested Sir John to let her know "how far your comfort goes".¹ She claimed that since the appearance of her first letter the people of Walden "have been continually laughing about my FATHER'S Water and your 'Comfort'...They add, you are going about the whole COUNTY TO ATTEMPT TO STOP MY FATHER'S water". She asserted that the canal would make the people of Walden rich and that it would be a public good, and claimed to quote a local parson who had declared "that a great man always thinks the public good the greatest COMFORT he can enjoy". She advised Griffin to keep his comfort at home because if it "keeps going about so far everywhere, it may happen to come upon the comfort of somebody else, and thus create a misconception of the thing". But the episode had its serious side and when Sir John heard that rumours that he had changed his mind were circulating he, too, made use of the press as did the local supporters of the scheme in their reply.²

Thirdly, Griffin had not confined his activities to the immediate locality. He had been in touch with his solicitors and a meeting had been arranged to take place at his Town house. This took place on 3 September 1788 but no agreement seems to have been reached between Sir John and Alderman Clark the representative of the City of London Committee who had also chaired the meeting held at Great Chesterford when the decision to make a new survey had been taken.³ If promoters of the scheme could petition Parliament to support the navigation, those

1. D/DBy E33.

2. Part of the result of this dispute was the re-assessment of Sir John's property in the parish of Walden: see D/DBy Q15: Griffin also withdrew the privilege "of sporting" in parts of his manors and served trespass notices.

3. D/DBy L2.

who saw things differently could use the same tactics to oppose the scheme. Supported by his neighbour the Honourable Percy Wyndham¹ and some other property owners the opposition group was strengthened further when the Conservators of the river Cam enjoined battle. Although by 1790 the Walden subscription stood at £10,000,² it was Griffin and his supporters who won the day. A local wit summed up the position: "The Walden Navigation goes on very far from prosperously. The evident injury it would do to the grounds of Lord HOWARD and other Gentlemen, may be fairly said 'to have thrown cold water upon it'".³ By the end of March the scheme was dead and in a letter⁴ from Lady Portsmouth from Hurstbourne Park we learn that the projected navigation had been defeated by a majority of 63 votes. Her Ladyship conveyed her congratulations on "a step so hurtful to your delightful premises".

Although some landowners were prominent⁵ in promoting improvements in internal transport, in general they opposed schemes likely to affect their own interests adversely. It is clear that Sir John belonged to this latter category. He was not opposed to the navigation as such,⁶ but only when he considered that its course would be to the detriment of his estate. It is also clear that some attempt was made by the pro-

1. See, The Hon. H. A. Wyndham, A Family History 1688-1837. The Wyndhams of Somerset, Sussex and Wiltshire (1950), 225-26.
2. E.R.O. T/B 171: 5 March 1790.
3. D/DBy E33.
4. D/DBy C9/64: Attempts to revise the scheme about twenty years later also failed to materialise; see A. Young, General View of the Agriculture of the County of Essex (1813), 11, 382.
5. Mingay, op.cit., 197.
6. For example, he is listed as one of the subscribers; see Phillips, op.cit.

moters to mitigate this by re-routing the course of the canal from the west side of Audley End, in which position it would have been visible from the house, to the south side where it would have been less noticeable. In agreeing to make this change the supporters of the scheme hoped that Griffin would "abate his prejudice, and be induced to meet the interests of the inhabitants", and gave it as their opinion that if "Capability Brown himself was alive, he would be positive, that the sight of a river, winding at a distance, and boats sailing upon it fraught with the riches of the county, would add greatly to the beauty of any prospect".¹ But whether appeals were made on economic² or on pseudo-aesthetic grounds Sir John was adamant. It was not only that he feared that his property would be devalued and its beauty impaired, but in cutting across his lands the canal would have had the effect of negating an important aspect of his estate policy, namely to make his depleted inheritance more private.³ This being so, it might also be said that he was more concerned with the social than the economic value of land, and was ignoring advice proffered by some contemporary writers.⁴ Against this one must remember his advancing years and also that it was

1. S.W.Mus., Cam Navigation, No.3.

2. Despite the claims made by supporters of the plans, it has been suggested that the estimated tonnage to be carried was optimistic, see Maud, op.cit. 143-45. It has also been estimated that the malt, corn, timber and other produce sent down the navigation from Bishop Stortford in 1791 amounted to 19,000 tons: see, Brown, op.cit., 91-2.

3. See Part IV. Professor Thompson has commented that "the real returns on several hundred pounds which were spent on the annual upkeep of a park were not visible in monetary terms. The aesthetic delight of the owner was a most important consideration, especially when he had been instructed by the school of landscapers on the directions in which this was to be sought. The main enjoyment was the family's, who could savour their own piece of countryside in privacy...": see, Thompson, Landed Society, 96.

4. W. Marshall, On the Landed Property of England An Elementary and Practical Treatise (1804), 135: Should an estate border on "a CREEK, an ESTUARY, or a NAVIGABLE RIVER, - bays and warehouses may not only be in themselves a source of profit, but by bringing a fresh market upon the estate, may be of general service".

recognised that the canal navvies "are a constant nuisance to the neighbourhood, and the terror of all other descriptions of people".¹ Indeed, Sir John's game had been threatened during the dispute with some of his neighbours.² Seen from his standpoint, it was natural that he should want to preserve the project on which he had expended unflagging energy and sums of money several times larger than the £10,000 raised by his neighbours.³ Although it might be said that such thinking was short sighted economically, it is no less true to add that his thinking was not circumscribed by economic considerations. Indeed, during this dispute with his neighbours there was some sympathy with his point of view. One such person reminded the inhabitants of Walden that Sir John "had during a long series of years employed and fed them when they had no employ. How unkind! How unfeeling! to bring these men forward to vote the destruction of the very pleasure grounds, from the improvement of which they had received innumerable benefits".⁴ Another sympathiser commented that the local inhabitants had much to answer for "on the score of ingratitude as his Lordship has annually expended large sums of money - and in truth, been the great protector of the Town".⁵

Members of the landed ruling group were concerned with local welfare, even if the benevolent ones could on occasions see fit to be hard. Some

1. Vine, op.cit. 33, quoting A. Young, General View of the Agriculture of the County of Sussex (1808), 424.

2. One local supporter of the navigation had suggested that "it might be an act of wise popularity, should his Lordship condescend to the execution of the plan; and in all probability, his Game would suffer less from it". D/DBY E33.

3. See Part 1, chapter 6.

4. D/DBY E33, see appendix 3.

5. Ibid.

large landowners, having put their own properties in order, were desirous of putting their neighbourhood on a similar footing. There is ample evidence to show that Griffin's brand of "paternalism"¹ consisted of more than peripheral involvement in the well-being of his neighbours and their environment, and that he tried to awaken a similar interest in the mind of his successor.²

In terms of his involvement in the local environment he made a very considerable contribution towards the restoration of the parish church of Saffron Walden. Struck by lightning in 1769³ when considerable damage was sustained, by 1790 it was described as having fallen into a state of decay and drastic restoration was needed.⁴ Action began in March 1790⁵ to involve Sir John and the local inhabitants, but in June 1791 the matter was put on a more businesslike basis with the introduction of Parliamentary legislature.⁶ Griffin's contribution can be measured in several ways. Firstly, as lay rector,⁷ he indicated that as soon as the

1. See, G.E. Mingay, "Landownership and Agrarian Trends in the Eighteenth Century" (Ph.D. Nottingham, 1958), 129-141.
2. D/DBy C4 B/2.
3. For a description of the architectural features of the church, see N. Pevsner, The Buildings of England Essex (1954), 303-306; Royal Commission Historical Monuments...Essex 1, 228-233.
4. W.J. Fancett, The Story of Saffron Walden Parish Church (Saffron Waldon 1960), 14. The style is perpendicular and is of high quality.
5. D/DBy Q9: this is a copy of the original letter.
6. This act enabled the parishioners to raise £4,000 excluding Sir John's contribution. For an account of Parliamentary legislature during this period, see Sheila Lambert, Bills & Acts Legislative Procedure in Eighteenth Century England (Cambridge 1971): S.W.Bor. Offs. No.1, Church Repairs Packet 1790-92, Minutes of Parish Meeting, Y¹.; D/DBy Q/SBb 343/8.
7. D/DBy Q9; for an account of Walden Abbey, see V.C.H. Essex (1907) 11, 110-15.

inhabitants resolved to take action, he would instantly issue instructions for a substantial and complete restoration of the part of the church that was his responsibility. But his participation went beyond what might have been expected of him as lay rector.

Secondly, he made financial contributions. In July 1790, he offered a loan of £500 free of interest so that work could begin at once.¹ When it was suggested to him that he should undertake the work himself, he declined but offered to subscribe £1,000 towards the total cost,² pointing out that this figure was equal to the sum he had previously hoped might have been subscribed by the parishioners themselves when he had made his first proposal. To financial help can be added a number of gifts intended to adorn the church, as well, no doubt, to commemorate his benefaction for posterity.³ These included a copy of Correggio's 'Holy Family', painted by Peters, and still hangs in the church; velvet cushions and covers for the communion table, with olive wood stools, two folio prayer books for the altar, velvet cushions for the pulpit and a carpet for the steps and floor in the chancel. A silver-gilt sacramental cup with a cover, as a companion to one formerly given by James, 3rd Earl of Suffolk and 3rd Lord Howard de Walden, was also presented. The communion cup, suitably inscribed,⁴ is an exact replica of the one given

1. S.W.Bor.Offs., Ibid, C.

2. S.W.Bor.Offs., Ibid, G¹.

3. This is based on visits to the church and conversations with Canon Sinker who kindly showed me some of these gifts; see also Braybrooke, op.cit., 204-5.

4. "Joannes Griffin Dominus Howard de Walden in exemplum sen pro genitons Jacobi censitis Soffolekio dedit 1793". Also recorded on a tablet in the south aisle are the words: "Deo Optimo Maximo Templum hoc sacrosanctum, vetustate poene prolapsum, restituerunt Joannes Griffin, Dominus Howard de Walden et Dominus Braybrooke, Patronus, et Paroeciani, A.D.1791-2-3".

by his ancestor in 1685: the very ancestor whose daughter had married the 1st Lord Griffin, which event has largely been responsible for bringing Griffin to Audley End and hence his connection with the church at Saffron Walden. A "handsome benefaction"¹ by way of a new window at the east end of the parish chancel was made by Lady Griffin. An agreement between Sir John and James Pearson, glass stainer of Westminster, shows that one hundred and thirty guineas was paid for such work.² Also at his own expense was the building of a new vicarage, still in use today. The building accounts for church and vicarage show that by 1793 Griffin had expended £2,769, not including his subscription to the general fund.³

But his participation, impressive though it was, went beyond dipping into his own pocket. A committee of some of the local inhabitants had been set up and Sir John suggested that a smaller number "that are more particularly accustomed to business" be selected "to settle & adjust matters in regard repair and to report their proceedings to the committee at large".⁴ He intimated that should the committee feel that his own experience might be of any use, then he would be ready to give his assistance. His offer was accepted and between 31 August, 1790, and 2 May, 1791, he attended eight meetings.⁵ From the time of the act in June 1791, trustees were appointed and their meetings were minuted.⁶ Altogether forty one meetings took place between June 1791 and Griffin's death in May 1797. He was in attendance at thirty seven of these meetings

1. S.W.Bor.Offs., Ibid, R.

2. D/DBy Q21.

3. D/DBy A366.

4. S.W.Bor.Offs., Ibid, H².

5. Ibid, Q.

6. Altogether 43 meetings were held, two after Sir John's death; they were on 3 July and 2 October 1797.

and elected to the chair, he presided over their deliberations and his experience of public life is much in evidence. At the twenty sixth meeting held on 7 January, 1794, he became treasurer and he continued to hold both offices until his death.

Apart from his conduct in the chair, his wide experience manifested itself at committee level in two ways. He was particularly well equipped to advise on restoration work in the light of his own efforts at Audley End and New Burlington Street. Initially, when he had offered a £500 loan, he had hoped that work could have begun at once under the direction of Robert Furze Brettingham,¹ who was at that time employed by himself in erecting the Temple of Concord in the park. Indeed, the first meeting he attended on 31 August, 1790, was with Brettingham.² Sir John put his long experience of dealing with members of the architectural fraternity immediately to use by suggesting to Brettingham that a saving of £300 might be effected if the windows and walls of the nave could not be securely kept in their present condition. Further he took pride in the architectural effects of the part of the church that he was personally responsible for restoring, executed in a style perfectly consonant with the edifice that it adorned.³ At the time when the Bishop of London officially opened the restored church, he complimented Sir John "particularly on thos Parts that were imediately of my own Construction, in keeping them so well in Union,...& corresponding with the Stile of the old Gothic Fabrick - & admir'd much the Altar".⁴

1. See Part II.

2. S.W.Bor.Offs., Ibid, H².

3. E.R.O.T/B 171/9: 12 October 1792.

4. D/DBy C3/42: the church had been re-opened in December 1792, when Vicar Gretton had preached the first sermon from the new pulpit; see Braybrooke, op.cit., 205.

He also involved himself in the financial work of the undertaking and many of the receipts bear his signature.¹ At the first meeting of the Trustees on 29 June, 1791, it was reported that Griffin had paid Richard Dycke, the builder, two sums of £250 and £500 as part of the £1,000 donation he had promised them, described at the time as a "handsome and liberal present", and only "one amongst many acts of great liberality conferred by Lord Howard, on the town of Walden".² At their third meeting on 25 July the full amount of the donation was receipted.³ By the twenty first meeting on 25 January, 1793, thanks were accorded for Sir John's "obliging assistance" in advancing a loan of £1,000 to the trust at four per cent.⁴ At the twenty sixth meeting, when he became treasurer, it was resolved that action be taken against Dycke to ensure the fullfilment of the contract.⁵ By the time of the next meeting, 28 January, 1794, it transpired that the contractor intended taking action against the treasurer, Griffin.⁶ The matter was complicated further by Dycke's death, intestate. Administration had been granted to his widow who was to honour the contract, and Sir John informed his fellow committee members that he had received an application on behalf of the widow for the payment of £200 as part of the balance that was outstanding in accordance with the contract. The money was needed so that she could complete the work. However, the remaining balance was

1. S.W.Bor.Offs. Minutes of Meetings of the Trustees, 1791-1797.

2. E.R.O.T/B 171/8: 3 September 1790.

3. S.W.Bor.Offs.Ibid, Y¹.

4. S.W.Bor.Offs.Trustees, 21st meeting.

5. Ibid, 26th meeting.

6. Ibid, 27th meeting.

not sufficiently large for him to advance the required sum. Further, they were not empowered under the act to raise more money except £100 "which will become very unequal to defray the Several Sums that will become due on the contract being completed". Consequently, to prevent further incumbrances and to obviate any difficulties that might arise, Griffin announced that he would be pleased to advance £200 for the work as well as another £300 to enable the trustees to discharge the balance that would be due to Mrs. Dycke. To be repaid at the rate of four per cent his fellow trustees considered his proposal "to be very advantageous to the Parish and conducive to the Settling of the Business without Litigation and consequent additional Expenses", and the thanks of the meeting were unanimously voted Griffin for his "obliging assistance". At the thirty third meeting held on 20 April, 1795, at which he was not present, thanks were again unanimously voted for "the Trouble he has taken in settling & adjusting the Accounts with Mr. Brettingham".¹

It is also clear that by his own example and his usual determination he played no small part in ensuring the success of the venture. Initially, he assured the parishioners that however they might decide to keep "this noble Structure firm upon its Legs, he shall heartily wish Success to".² When told that there were many inhabitants who were either unwilling or unable to pay, he let it be known that he "still places that Confidence in Those of this latter Description, that their liberal Disposition will lead them to contribute their Support towards such necessary Repairs, as may beyond all doubt put the Fabrick into a

1. The total cost has been estimated at about £8,000; see Fancett, op.cit., 14.

2. S.W.Bor.Offs., Ibid, G¹.

perfect State of Security".¹ On this score he was assisted by the local press² which not only reported on the progress of the work, but also paid tribute to the "noble patron, who is so munificent a contributor" as if to inspire all concerned to continue their efforts, adding that it was a credit to the inhabitants who in general "are zealous for the support of that elegant structure". But this, according to Sir John, had not always been the case, and earlier there had been "an inveterate opposition" from a majority of the people who had attended the public meetings, "but Perseverance in a Matter, that was in itself fundamentally right, has carried Me through & finally with content".³ His reference to opposition encountered and to public meetings might partly explain his suggestion that business be conducted at committee level and that his own influence would be stronger through committee work. That he identified himself with this scheme is also borne out by his usual meticulousness in preserving the accounts with which he was most concerned.⁴

Neither were his efforts confined to the local parish church. He also contributed towards the erection of a new town hall and gaol, and built at his own expense a bridge over the river Cam. That he had it in mind to erect a new bridge to carry the London to Walden road as early as 1763 is clear from Capability Brown's schemes.⁵ It is recorded in

1. Ibid.

2. E.R.O.T/B 171/9: 12 October 1792.

3. D/DBy C/3/42.

4. D/DBy A366: among the better known craftsmen were Joseph Rose, Sefferin Nelson as well as Brettingham.

5. D/DBy A365.

the Gentleman's Magazine¹ in the year of his death that "the handsom stone bridge erected at his expense, over the river in the road to Walden, will enroll him among the public benefactors of the county", and John Player,² writing about half a century after Griffin's death, tells us that it was built "for the use of the Publick". Although this was so, the bridge was also designed by one of the outstanding architects of the day, Robert Adam,³ and cost a very considerable sum of money to erect and used the skills of some of the leading craftsmen of the period.⁴ Indeed, as well as mentioning its functional value, Player⁵ also commented that it "is of three arches, and has a pleasing effect, see it from whatever point you may". The artistic impulse was probably as strong, if not stronger than the utilitarian advantages to be gained from such a project. It might well be that he decided to build such an attractive bridge to replace the old one to ensure that the prospect from some of the principal apartments of Audley End would not perhaps be spoilt by one that the local people, more concerned with function than aesthetics, would have built. This being so, he might have killed two birds with one stone: he would have more than satisfied his neighbours by providing them with such a fine bridge; he would also have satisfied his own desire to adorn his park and more immediate environs. Even so, the 3rd Lord Braybrooke's comment remains true: that the bridge was

1. G.M. LXVII, (1797), 529-30.

2. J. Player, Sketches of Saffron Walden and its Vicinity (1845), 28.

3. Sir John Soane's Museum, Robert Adam Drawings, v.51, 21.

4. For example, Mark Loadman, stonemason, one of the London craftsmen, D/DBY A259, 29.

5. Player, op.cit., 28.

built for the public, and that his predecessor had "munificently defrayed the whole expense himself".¹

The new town hall had been started in 1761 and although the work was completed by 1762, the business associated with this undertaking was not. The Corporation was in some difficulty in repaying the interest on the loan needed to meet the expense.² As Recorder, Griffin, as he still was at that time, subscribed £100 but after withholding it. It appears that the Mayor and Aldermen agreed to borrow and to keep £200 under seal of the Corporation upon bonds to carry the legal interest in order to satisfy and discharge the subscription of their Recorder. This was not the only occasion when Griffin let it be known that he was less than satisfied with the manner in which some of the local officers conducted their business.³ That he was not going to part with his money without first ensuring that it would be put to good use suggests more than a passing interest in the affairs of the town.⁴ The other municipal project that attracted a subscription was the provision of new iron gates for the gaol in 1786, for which he donated eight guineas.⁵

But as well as interesting himself in the physical well-being of the locality, he also showed a concern for some of his neighbours. The

1. Braybrooke, op.cit., 137.
2. S.W.Bor.Offs. Account of Town Hall & New Buildings begun 1761: 86: 34-5.
3. See above.
4. "...the present recorder having out of his good Will to us, now signified his Intention of presenting the Corporation wt. his Subscription (hitherto With-held)": S.W.Bor.Offs., Ibid.
5. S.W.Bor.Offs., Subscriptions for iron gates for Jail, 1786, No.7 (b), and Guild Accounts, 418.

period witnessed the growth of a new spirit of humanitarianism,¹ and although the state showed some signs of accepting more responsibility for the welfare of its members, even so, most philanthropic ventures were still very dependent on voluntary support, and members of the ruling group identified themselves with some of these efforts. The town of Walden could boast of several charitable institutions² and Griffin was involved in some of them.

He initiated the practice of annually presenting two hundred of the poor of the parish with a shirt or shift, a blanket and coverlid. This action was reported in the local press as "a laudable example, worthy of imitation in this inclement season".³ It is recorded in the same source that in January 1789 he contributed £20 towards the collection undertaken at the time and that he "daily supplied the whole poor of the parish with fuel, considerably under half the market price, besides FINDING CONSTANT EMPLOYMENT for as many labourers as offer that want work".⁴ Perhaps the best example of his efforts was the setting up of his own charity. The Howard Charity is typical of his meticulous attention to detail. He laid down in his will⁵ that £2,000 of 3% Consols were to be transferred into the names of the occupier of Audley

1. Horn & Ransome, English Historical Documents, X, 512; D. Owen, English Philanthropy 1660-1960 (1964), see Part 1, "Philanthropy in the Age of Benevolence", 11-68.
2. Braybrooke, op.cit., 231: he lists the different charities in the town.
3. E.R.O. T/B 171/1 (1764-68); 3 January 1766; there was a bad harvest in this year.
4. Ibid., T/B 171/7: 16 January 1789.
5. D/DBy A371; this account is partly based on material in S.W.Mus., Account of Charities for the benefit of the Poor etc: Draws 14 & 25 (dated 1818).

End House and the respective vicars of Saffron Walden and Littlebury,¹ upon trust, that they should out of the dividend, amounting at the time to £42. 7s. per annum, yearly provide clothing for twelve poor men and twelve poor women of the parish of Walden, and for five poor men and five poor women of the adjoining parish of Littlebury. The respective vicars were to advise the occupier of Audley End over the choice of poor, and in the event of the house being unoccupied at the time, the Master of Magdalene College² was to assist the vicars in nominating the "objects"³ with the Recorder of Walden should one vicar happen to serve both parishes. The clothes were to be delivered a few days before Christmas, and the recipients were to appear in their new clothes at their parish church on Christmas day, Easter day and Whit Sunday for both morning and evening services, and were to be inspected by the respective vicars both before and after divine service. Sir John stipulated that no person of either sex should be clothed more than once in three years, nor should more than one person from the same family living together be clothed at the same time. In the event of a surplus remaining in hand, after the expense of clothing had been met, it was to be divided equally among the poor persons last clothed upon Easter day. Sir John also left £100 each to the poor of Audley End hamlet and to the poor of the hamlet of Duck Street, both closely situated to Audley End house.⁴ A further £300 was left to the remainder of the poor of Walden, and £100 to those

1. William Gretton was vicar of both the parishes having been nominated by Sir John.

2. See chapter 5.

3. This term is used by Braybrooke, op.cit., 231; see also, Perkin, op.cit., 50-51.

4. See Part IV.

in Littlebury.¹

It is generally accepted that the philanthropy of the period was frequently tinged with utilitarian motives, and this was particularly the case in the voluntary efforts of promoting elementary education as a means of maintaining social order by teaching the duty of obedience to social superiors. There is evidence to show that Griffin interested himself in the Walden Charity School,² and in March 1787 there is mention of an annuity given to this charity as well as of certain lands considered to be "very liberal and beneficial".³ In April of that year a meeting was held at Saffron Walden Guildhall for the purpose of establishing Sunday Schools by voluntary subscription.⁴ At this meeting a letter from Sir John to the vicar was read and approved of, as were the regulations that accompanied it. As it was necessary for him to attend the House of Lords, Griffin begged leave to bring certain considerations to the notice of the meeting. Firstly, he assured them that he had "nothing more at heart than the success of them", that is, the Sunday Schools.⁵ It was because of this that he had brought forward some resolutions in addition to those already circulated.⁶ He felt that as large assemblies did not usually transact business with the same accuracy

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1. The Howard Trust seems to have been efficiently administered for in 1843 a Walden man could write: "But his Lordship was no common man, and we are now often times reminded that he thought of the poor by the means he adopted to clothe so many from year to year. Many an aged man and woman have been, and are still, warmed by his bounty though he has now been dead near fifty years". See, Player, op.cit., 27.
 2. D/DBy E19 (E).
 3. D/DBy E40.
 4. E.R.O.T/B 171/7: 4 May 1787.
 5. See M.G. Jones, The Charity School Movement: A Study of Eighteenth Century Puritanism in Action (1938): Sunday schools were started in many Essex parishes, see Brown, op.cit., 138.
 6. E.R.O.T/B 171/7: 4 May 1787: the remainder of the discussion on Sunday Schools is based on this source.

and dispatch that might be expected from smaller ones, he ventured proposing a standing committee "for the principal execution of the plan; - subject, however, to general quarterly meetings of all the subscribers, and to one other general anniversary meeting: when all the accounts, and the whole proceedings of the year will be laid before them".

Should his resolution be approved, he added that "I shall be well pleased with the attention I have given to the subject". Having expressed his views on "our own particular schools" of the established religion, he could not forebear registering his "sincere satisfaction" in perceiving how the dissenters followed their example. He felt that "they, and we, may have each our distinct comforts quiet and undisturbed; I have, you know, declared it to be my opinion, that the surest and safest way to have them so, is for our different persuasions to act separately and distinctly under our own subscriptions and regulations: - all of us having equally in view, to inform the ignorant and idle, to correct in general the morals of the lower class of people, and to make them useful members of society". He concluded that should the dissenters determine, as he trusted they would, come into the measure, then "it must be a comfort to our different societies, to converse and consult with each other, upon all general regulations for our common good".

Griffin's mention of "our common good" had already manifested itself in the third dimension of the relationship between himself and his neighbours, for not only was he the dominant landowner in the parish of Walden, he was also through his rebuilding and estate aggrandisement schemes, an agent of economic activity. The widespread repercussions of one man's cherished ambitions for his ancestral home impinged on local as well as national and international resources. "The requirements of a great house were a not insignificant factor in the employment and pros-

perity of its environs, and this was of importance in an underemployed countryside".¹ This building activity has been dismissed as either conspicuous consumption or as capital consumption, and the building land-owners as no more than agents of conspicuous consumption. More recent research has, however, suggested that these building activities might have amounted to an important "investment activity" with "multiplier effects".² Such activity might have been more keenly felt if, as was the case in Saffron Walden, the particular countryside was underemployed.³ Such activity is capable of measurement in terms of offering employment, capital circulation and custom given to local tradesmen.

In the main, the demand for labour falls into two categories; skilled and unskilled. Although the major work at Audley End was carried out by figures of national importance,⁴ a call was made upon lesser craftsmen, about whom less is known, but whose contribution to the rebuilding work was nonetheless important. On this score employment was offered to such persons already in the building industry. There are numerous examples of such craftsmen in the Audley End building accounts,⁵ and local identification is sometimes achieved from an exami-

1. Mingay, op.cit., 161.

2. F.M.L. Thompson, "Landownership and economic growth in England in the eighteenth century" in E.L. Jones & S.J. Wolf (eds.) Agrarian Change and Economic Development: The Historical Problem (1969), 41-60.

3. Brown, op.cit., 1-27; D. Monteith, "Saffron Walden and its Environs" (M.A.London, 1958), 182.

4. See Part II.

5. D/DBY A241-261.

nation of a wider range of local evidence.¹ For instance, there were Robert and William West,² stonemasons, from Wendens Ambo, a village about three miles south of Audley End. They were particularly active in Griffin's service in the 1770's, nor was their work confined to the house itself, for on occasions they were sent further afield to procure the required building materials, in one case to order Portland stone in London.³ Samuel Wade, who carried out so much plumbing for Sir John, was also engaged on some local projects, such as the building of the new Town Hall in Saffron Walden.⁴ George Day, one of the Audley End estate brickmakers, also supplied customers in the locality.⁵ Richard Ward, bricklayer, was engaged for most of the period 1762 to 1797,⁶ and William Barratt,⁷ one of the blacksmiths and John Bunten, another plumber and glazier, also worked for considerable periods and were all local men.⁸

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1. S.W.Bor.Offs., Guild of Holy Trinity Accounts 314.
 2. D/DBy A44/6/86. The accounts shew that on one occasion Griffin settled with William West 'and has forgiven him the above Balance', which amounted to £5. 2s. Od. for mason's work on the obelisk: D/DBy A207, December 1776.
 3. D/DBy A29/10/71.
 4. S.W.Bor.Offs., Guild Accounts 354; D/DBy A259.
 5. S.W.Bor.Offs., Guild Accounts, 367; D/DBy A30/11/72.
 6. S.W.Bor.Offs., 400; D/DBy A249. He provides a good example of what this employment amounted to over the years. Among the areas in which he was engaged were the following: the house, park wall, brewhouse, Grecian temple, stables, bailiffe's house, estate cottages, one of the bridges, and Walden church. These examples are taken from B/DBy A23-55. The Bank Ledgers at Drummonds also record regular and substantial payments to Ward, for instance £436 between 1765-68, as they do to many of the other craftsmen, national and local, mentioned above, or in Parts II & IV. A second generation of Wards was employed by the 2nd Lord Braybrooke, for instance a Joseph Ward continued the rebuilding of the park wall in 1820: D/DBy A262.
 7. S.W.Bor.Offs., Guild Accounts, 357; D/DBy A25/3/67.
 8. S.W.Bor.Offs., Guild Accounts, 400; D/DBy A37/8/79.

William Jackson, one of the many carpenters to find employment in and around the house, came from a little further afield, from the parish of Linton, in Cambridgeshire.¹ For others, such as Thomas Johnson, a blacksmith, it is difficult to be precise as to their place of abode, but the absence of reference to board and travel expenses hints at local connections.²

But it was for unskilled labour that the demand for local manpower was particularly felt. The building accounts and receipts record the extent and diversity of the tasks undertaken by the unskilled labour force. Most of the craftsmen were assisted by labourers. For instance, in digging foundations,³ pulling down walls, "beating down" old ceilings,⁴ loading and unloading considerable quantities of building materials,⁵ taking down chimneys and balustrades,⁶ and a whole range of other activities that formed part of the very comprehensive restoration work that Sir John unleashed. The two main waves of rebuilding took place between 1763 and 1767, and again between 1783 and 1786, but some work continued for the entire period of Griffin's tenure, which in turn provided some employment for some local persons. But activities were not confined to the house, and it was in the immense amount of work in the surrounding grounds that most of the unskilled labour was absorbed. For in calling in Capability Brown to landscape the immediate environs,

1. D/DBy A38/9/80.

2. D/DBy A28/7/70.

3. D/DBy A242; for example, Ward's day bills for August.

4. D/DBy A259 for example, Rose's bills, 68.

5. D/DBy A45/5/87.

6. D/DBy A259: for example, Hooper's bills, 91.

Sir John was also committing himself to the employment of a very large labour force. The serpentining of waterways, the man made hills, the erection of garden ornaments, in the shape of temples, bridges, obelisks, tea houses, as well as plantations and pleasure grounds, diverting and making highways, all demanded the presence of a sizeable and available labour force. For instance about £4,000 was paid to Hicks and his men between 1774-1781.¹ Such activity can also be quantified by examining some of the monthly accounts. For example, in June 1787,² not a key year, as most of the work in both house and grounds was completed by then, quite a large labour force was still being employed. Twenty men worked under Martin Nockold, the nursery man, in the plantation garden and pleasure grounds; nine men helped Joseph Hicks clean the river and a further fifteen worked under his supervision in levelling roads and in cleaning ponds. In December 1792 15 labourers were employed in the Pleasure Grounds,³ and between 1786-1790 alone 6,407 trees were planted.⁴ These examples are not exceptional, but underline the very considerable activity, of one sort or another, that took place over thirty five years.⁵ The initial demand for creating was in some part, sustained by the need to maintain, and a near contemporary opinion⁶ stated that some fifty gardeners were employed, and that twelve of them, mowing every day, could

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1. This sum has been reached by totalling the numerous accounts for those years.
 2. D/DBy A45/6/87.
 3. D/DBy A50/12/92.
 4. D/DBy E44.
 5. For instance 17 labourers were employed with Hicks in February, March and April 1791; D/DBy A49/2-4/91: See Appendix 3.
 6. D/DBy E33.

scarcely clear all the grass walks in a week. Allowing for some exaggeration, it is well to remember that there were some seven miles of such walks, and that although seasonal, a substantially sized labour force would be needed. As with the craftsmen, so too, with the labourers, the offer of work attracted men from some of the adjacent parishes, and on some occasions father and son worked side by side¹ and boys and girls were employed for lesser tasks.² Bearing in mind that Saffron Walden suffered some unemployment at this time, and that the total male population in 1801 was 1,491, then the amount of employment offered by Sir John over thirty five years went some way towards helping local economy, and this was borne out by contemporary opinion which on more than one occasion mentioned his role as an agent of employment.³

The second criterion is capital circulation. It has been well said that "the spending of a great house was certainly one of the more prominent ways in which its influence touched the local community".⁴ In rebuilding and embellishing alone⁵ Griffin was to spend £86,214,⁶ and a noticeable part of this sum was to find its way into the pockets of this local labour force. On an individual basis daily rates ranged from 3s.⁷ for the highest paid craftsmen to 1s.2d.⁸ for the least skilled

1. D/DBy A48/6/90.

2. D/DBy A249: Ward's bills and A45/6/87.

3. See above.

4. Mingay, op.cit., 162.

5. Further expenditure on household and estate also had beneficial effects on the locality; see parts III & IV.

6. See chapter 6 for his total output.

7. D/DBy A43/3/85.

8. D/DBy A249: Ward's day bills.

labourer: apprentices were paid 1s.¹ per day, boys 8d.² and girls 6d.³ Accumulative payments⁴ to individual craftsmen record that Richard Ward, bricklayer, was paid £64 12s. in 1763; William Himus, brickmaker, was paid £76 in the same year; and Samuel Wade, plumber, received £50 in 1764. It is clear that Griffin did not take unfair advantage of the surplus labour force by employing at cheaper rates.⁵

The third criterion is related to the circulation of capital, namely, the giving of custom to local tradesmen. For although many of the building materials were brought in from other parts of the country, or indeed imported from parts of Europe, it was the local tradesmen who were able to supply him with many of the run of the mill materials required. For example, Joseph Martin⁶ supplied lime for most of the rebuilding years as did Jane Morgan⁷ ironmongery. Numerous persons supplied straw and sand⁸ and a William Impey wire sieves for the brick kilns.⁹ Others came from slightly further afield such as Richard Palmer of Epping who

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1. D/DBy A243: Ward's day bills.
 2. D/DBy A249: Ward's day bills.
 3. D/DBy A45/6/87:
 4. D/DBy A258: see appendix 4.
 5. For comparative figures see, E.M. Carus Wilson, Essays in Economic History (1962) 11, 178; J.M. Crook & M.H. Port, The History of the King's Works, Vol. VI, 1782-1851 (1973) 14-18.
 6. S.W.Bor.Offs., Guild Accounts, 364; D/DBy A30/10/72.
 7. D/DBy A23/10/65; T1/11-35.
 8. D/DBy A27/4/69; A28/10/70; A34/7/76; A28/12/70; A30/11/72.
 9. D/DBy A28/4/70.

supplied bricks,¹ and Edward Elsdon² of Kings Lynn and John Glyn of Bishops Stortford who supplied timber.³ Annual amounts spent on materials during the key years of the restoration along with the maintenance work throughout the period as a whole make it clear that these local and regional tradesmen continued to enjoy Griffin's custom.⁴

Although Saffron Walden did not belong to some small towns like Alnwick⁵ and Petworth⁶, both of which were dominated by the shadow of the great house, there is ample evidence to show that both the town itself and its inhabitants felt the influence of the occupier of Audley End during most of the second half of the eighteenth century. That this was so is very much in keeping with the view of a modern scholar, namely that paternalism "which the outside world found it easy to criticise as autocratic, he looked upon as a natural accompaniment of landed wealth, and indeed as one of its prime justifications".⁷ With Sir John, it was to be expected that having set the seal of his own personality on his house and estate, he should also, in keeping with the spirit of improvement, want to ensure that the adjoining countryside should also show signs

1. D/DBy A30/3/72.

2. D/DBy A29/11/71.

3. D/DBy A36/11/78.

4. For example: in 1763 payments for materials amounted to over £902; in 1764 to over £1,322; in 1765 to over £1,224; in 1766 to over £719. When the work was completed there remained in store miscellaneous materials to the value of £635 17s. 6½d: D/DBy A258; A366: The restoration of the parish church also made demands upon skilled and unskilled labour and also benefited some of the local tradespeople.

5. Alnwick Castle was the principal seat of the Dukes of Northumberland.

6. Petworth was the principal seat of the Earls of Egremont during this period.

7. Thompson, Landed Society, 17.

of betterment. That his actions were in keeping with what was expected from the landed group is evidenced by a contemporary opinion of him as well as of his peers.

... possessors of Palaces must look beyond themselves - as about Audley House will testify - in Walden Church, Littlebury Church, Newport Tower; nay, the small house on each side, where the steward and the gamekeeper live".¹

The classical economists² were hostile in their treatment of this group, and it might well be that their hostility was based on theory, which tended to ignore the complicated reality of life, and which practically ignored the social value of the group. More recent research has seriously modified this earlier view, and perhaps this is best seen in the relationship between the landed gentleman and his neighbourhood, for local society was after all, a microcosm of society at large. A modern scholar has put the question more fairly: "legend of an age of social harmony gained vastly from the distant perspective: the reality of course, was much less elysian; but for all the distortion and omission, there yet remained in it some basis of truth".³

1. D/DBy E33.

2. Ricardo, for example, argued that the landlord's interest was opposed to that of every other class in the community: see D. Ricardo, The Principles of Political Economy and Taxation Introduction by M.P. Fogarty (Everyman 1955 ed.), 225: "...the interest of the landlord is always opposed to that of the consumer and manufacturer... The dealings between the landlord and the public are not like dealings in trade, whereby both the seller and buyer may equally be said to gain, but the loss is wholly on one side, and the gain wholly on the other...".

3. Mingay, op.cit., 288.

CHAPTER 5 : FAMILY, FRIENDS AND ACQUAINTANCES.

The activities of the Georgian landed group need to be studied at different levels of motivation and it has been suggested that the English landlord was seen at his most natural in his own home with his family, friends and acquaintances, and our examination of the more personal aspects of Griffin's life will hinge on these criteria. Regrettably neither Sir John nor his two wives appear to have kept diaries and that we catch glimpses of his movements socially we must rely on snippets of information that sometimes find their way into correspondence which was essentially businesslike in nature. Indeed, his aversion to purely social correspondence is hinted at in one of his letters to his friend Richard Neville Neville,¹ when he confessed that if Lady Griffin did not "keep up a pretty constant Correspondence...I should have blush'd to have told You, I am now going to thank You for yr kind Letter of ye 18 of last September". Even so, enough has survived to construct a picture of the man in his setting which in turn highlights the many-sided nature of his relationships, for "friendship" was an integral part of life, and "vertical friendship" brings us close to patronage, described by a modern scholar as one of the twin principles of the 'old' society.²

It was in 1749, a significant year in his life, that he married Anna Maria Schutz on 9 March at St. James' Westminster. Her father was Colonel John Schutz, the second son of John, Baron Schutz, of Sion Hill, Middlesex. The von Schutz family had come to this country with the first

1. D/DBy C3/28; 17 January, 1773.

2. Perkin, The Origins of Modern English Society, 49.

Hanoverian King. The marriage between Sir John and Anna Maria made for useful contacts. It provided him with another opportunity of identifying himself with the Hanoverian dynasty and putting paid to any doubts that might have lingered over his maternal grandfather's determined support for James II. One might also speculate that through his in-laws he was gaining friends whose influence might help him professionally and socially, for his bride's father was a colonel, and her uncle an equerry to George II when prince, and afterwards master of the robes and privy purse. The marriage settlement in nine parts was drawn up in 1748¹. Little is known about Anna Maria, except that the match was a happy one. Griffin was to write shortly after her death that he had appreciated domestic happiness and that he knew how to value it.² There was no issue and she died on 18 August, 1764, at the age of forty two and was buried in the new vault in Saffron Walden parish church. Her portrait, by West, still hangs in Audley End but no letters between the two are known to have survived.³

By April 1765,⁴ he intimated to his friend the Elder Pitt that he was considering re-marrying, his bride-to-be being Katherine Clayton, the daughter of William Clayton, of Harleyford, Buckinghamshire, by his second wife.⁵ He added that "I flatter myself that Experience has not misguided me in the Choice I have now made...I have perceived more

1. D/DBy T10/1.

2. P.R.O.30/8/38: letter 4.

3. D/DBy A30/3/1772.

4. P.R.O.30/8/38: letter 4.

5. Catherine Mary, the daughter and coheir of Rice Lloyd. William Clayton (c.1718-1783) was the second surviving son of William Clayton and brother of Sir K. Clayton.

Prudence & Discretion with Miss Clayton than in many Ladies much older". Griffin was at this time in his forty seventh year and his new bride only seventeen. The first Lady Griffin had been about three years younger than her husband: the second Lady Griffin was some twenty nine years younger. It might well be, that among other considerations, Sir John felt that there was a better prospect of getting a natural heir from a younger woman. It is probable that she was known to Sir John some time¹ before he married her on 11 June, 1765, at St. George's, Hanover Square.²

Despite the age difference, and although no children³ were born into this marriage, the match was a very happy one. Although not one letter between them is known to have survived, there are two letters of hers to the 2nd Lord Braybrooke and they both reveal that she enjoyed a happy relationship with her husband at Audley End. In the first, written on 3 September, 1797,⁴ she thanked Lord Braybrooke for allowing her to complete her duties "before I quit this Blessed Roof, which tho tenderly painful, I can assure you I look forward with thankfulness to your settling here, & sincerely wish & trust your happiness here may be as complete & permanent". And at the end of the same month⁵ she wrote

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1. Report of his Majesty's Attorney General...Barony of Howard de Walden (1807), 3-7.
 2. D/DBy T10/11.
 3. In one of Griffin's letters to Neville he thanked his friend for his kind concern "for us in ye Loss of ye sweet little Girl, that both my Wife & Self had really a fix'd attention for - she indeed suffer'd more than I did": D/DBy C3/28; 17 January, 1773.
 4. D/DBy C6/5.
 5. D/DBy C6/6.

that "it is a real consolation to my mind to find you speak in such terms of a place I must ever dearly love." To this testimony can be added the lines that she caused to be inscribed on an urn in memory of her husband.¹ Griffin, for his part, paid tribute to his second wife in one of his last letters,² also to the 2nd Lord Braybrooke, at the end of his life:

but I know at the same time that the good Wife of a good Husband has a natural Right to participate in any Thing that will afford him Pleasure on this whole Occasion judge of dear Lady Howard's Pleasure & Comfort, who has been my Partner thro'out the Whole of all these Transactions, & from whom I have experienc'd every kind Assistance - my Heart is full.

She died in 1807 in her fifty ninth year and lies buried with her husband and his first wife at the parish church at Saffron Walden, and as with the first Lady Griffin, her portrait, by West, also hangs at Audley End today.³

There is no evidence to show the relationship that existed between Griffin and his father, but a letter⁴ from his mother, does throw some light on the friendliness that existed between herself and her eldest son. "I can't Sign this", she wrote in January 1769, some fourteen months before her death, "Without telling You Once Again How Happy You Have Always made me, by the Most Dutiful, Tender and Generous Behavior".

1. The urn can still be seen at Audley End today, but the inscription is badly worn. For the inscription, see, Richard Lord Braybrooke, The History of Audley End (1836), 135: the first stanza was written or suggested by Sir John's friend, Dr. Porteous, who was at the time Bishop of London.

2. D/DBy C3/42.

3. D/DBy A30/3/1772.

4. D/DBy T11/2.

Her will¹ mentions the bond that existed between her surviving children and her sentiments seemed to have been based on realities, and not on the pious hopes of a mother, and Mathew Whitwell's will,² proved in 1789, shows that the surviving children retained the early affection they had formed towards each other. It is also clear that Sir John as head of the family exerted himself on behalf of some of its members.

Nothing could be more natural than to help further the career of a brother, and Griffin took it upon himself to assist in promoting Mathew's naval career. In a letter to the Earl of Sandwich on 27 August, 1763,³ he expressed alarm from reports circulating to the effect that the Earl was about to take the Seals of Secretary of State "lest my Brother should loose so good a Friend from ye Head of the Admiralty; may I be allow'd to entreat your Lordship therefore not to leave his Promotion to your Successor but to appoint Him to the Command of a Guardship". Replying⁴ on the same day, Sandwich stated that although no ships were ready to be put into commission at that time, he assured Griffin of his good intentions towards Mathew. By 6 September⁵, three days before he left the Admiralty, the news that Griffin had been waiting for arrived. "You will see", wrote Sandwich, "that I have not been forgetfull of your application in behalf of your brother, having this day commissioned him for a Guardship at Chatham". Indeed, according to Sandwich, the principal

1. D/DBy T11/1.

2. D/DBy T11/1: there is mention of "our beloved sister" and "I place such confidence in my Brother Lord Howard". See also, D/DBy F32, and there are examples of visits between the Whitwell children, D/DBy A25/5/1767.

3. D/DBy C8/28: James Montague, 4th Earl of Sandwich (1718-1792), became Secretary of State, Northern Department, on 9 March, 1763, and succeeded Grenville at the Admiralty on 23 April, 1763.

4. D/DBy C8/26.

5. D/DBy C8/29.

reason for his putting this and two other ships into commission "was to serve your brother, as I am told that some events are likely to happen that might have put it out of my power if I had delayed it any longer". That Mathew was conscious of his brother's good will towards him is evidenced in a letter¹ he wrote shortly before his promotion, in which he expressed himself as a "Happy Man, in having so good a Brother & Friend, who I sincerely wish may live to enjoy every Felicity". He rose to the rank of Rear Admiral² and when he died in 1789 it was Griffin who was the principal beneficiary under his will.³ Sir John, too, continued to show a genuine concern for Mathew's well-being and in the solitary letter⁴ between them to survive he stated "methinks I want much to know how You & my Sister do- & how You like your new House".⁵ He added that at that time of the year, December, "I am generally busy in examining into my own Affairs - & I do assure You that one of the greatest Pleasures I have found in Them is, that I can easily Afford to give You such an Addition to your Income, as will I hope put You quite at Your Ease - in short...£200 a Year paid You Quarterly, to begin with the Year 1777 will make You, my Sister more comfortable than You are". Should he survive his brother, Griffin promised to pay the same annuity to his sister in law. A portrait of Rear Admiral Whitwell can be seen at Audley End today, and although Mathew was fuller facedly, there is a noticeable resemblance between the two men.

1. D/DBy C2/31; 14 March, 1763.

2. D/DBy T/8; in 1779.

3. See chapter 6.

4. D/DBy T/8, dated 1776.

5. Mathew had by this time moved to Exeter where he is buried.

That Sir John was particularly fond of his youngest sister, Mary, the wife of Dr. Parker, is partly evidenced by the couple's frequent visits to Audley End.¹ It was this sister who took the name and arms of Griffin on Sir John's death in 1797, but she died childless two years later. Mary had married the Reverend William Parker, D.D., one of his Majesty's chaplains, and Rector of St. James's, Westminster, in 1768, and Griffin had also attempted to advance the clerical career of his brother in law. Correspondence took place between himself and the Younger Pitt when he tried to secure a bishopric for Parker, when vacancies occurred at Hereford,² Carlisle,³ and Exeter.⁴ Although Pitt stated that he hoped to be of assistance, by 1792 despite the vacancy at Exeter, he wrote that due to Parker's great age he "scarcely saw any probability of ever being able to place him on the Bench of Bishops". Parker was at that time seventy eight, and had a further ten years to live, and although Griffin was friendly with the Bishops of London, Chester and Exeter, until the latter's decease in 1792, he remained bishopless.

A happy and close relationship also existed between Griffin and his second wife's family. He must have been a good deal older than his Clayton brothers and sisters in law and about the same age as his father in law. A year after the latter's decease in 1783, Griffin acted in an advisory capacity over the forthcoming marriage between his brother in law, William Clayton, and the daughter of Sir William East.⁵ On very

1. For example, Bucks. R.O. D/CE; 24 October, 1784, letter 7.

2. D/DBY C9/45-46.

3. D/DBY C9/48.

4. D/DBY C9/67.

5. Bucks R.O. D/CE; 17 October, 1784, letter 5.

good terms with William, Griffin, no doubt, with tongue in cheek, was able to chide him: "You are a very idle Fellow in taking no Notice of the Letters your Sister has wrote you".¹ The few letters that passed between them reveal the warm friendship that they enjoyed and it is clear that Griffin took it upon himself from time to time to look after the interests of his younger brother in law. On one occasion² it was arranging for William to have eight dozen bottles of sherry, and on another he stated that "I have enclos'd on a Scrap of Paper, as You desir'd the best Advice I can give You, & which I hope you will pursue". This related to some land that Clayton rented from the Duke of Marlborough.³ He also showed no little affection for William, his wife and young son.⁴

Griffin was also concerned to be of service to George Clayton, another brother in law, and on one occasion he approached a fellow officer, Sir Robert Keith.⁵ In June 1787 he wrote⁶ recommending George, who was at that time an officer in the Third Foot Guards, that is, the regiment in which Griffin himself had began his own army career. "When I tell you how nearly he is allied to Myself", wrote Sir John, "I am the less scrupulous in solliciting for him the Favour of your Countenance". However, he assured Keith that he would not have approached him but for the fact that every report he had received of Clayton's conduct since he

1. Ibid; 21 October, 1784, letter 6; He also wrote on 2 November, 1784, letter 9; and on 16 January, 1785, letter 11.

2. Ibid; 4 August, 1789, letter 2.

3. Ibid; 20 September, 1789, letter 4.

4. Ibid; 13 August, 1789, letter 3.

5. See also chapter 2.

6. B.M.Add.Ms.35538, f.238.

had gone abroad two years previously "did not leave me Room to believe him a sober sensible young Man, ambitious of Information in his Profession". It was for this reason that Clayton proposed going to Prague and it was to facilitate his stay there through a favourable introduction that Griffin approached Keith and "if possible to have him taken a little by the hand by some Field Officer in the Garrison, & in the Fields in Case of any Encampment or Review".

Little wonder that Marianne Clayton should, in one of her letters refer to her brother in law, Sir John, as "Our dear valuable brother".¹ This letter was written from Audley End, where, at different times, the Claytons spent very many happy hours. Fortunately the Claytons were better correspondents than other members of Griffin's family, and they have left a picture of life at Audley End during the last twenty years or so of Sir John's life. If the well aired bed and hearty welcome that Griffin had promised the Reverend Philip Morant was typical of his hospitality, then it was not surprising that members of the Clayton family were sufficiently impressed to want to record their impressions of their visits and stays. In October 1777,² for instance, the senior Claytons paid a visit with their daughters. Marianne was particularly fond of the place. In one of her letters to her brother William, in August 1783,³ she reported that "we are all well, and indeed I think I may say that our spirits improve daily, we sincerely wish for you my dear brother to join our party, this place is delightful indeed, Admiral Whitwell is

1. Bucks R.O. D/CE; 7 August, 1783.

2. Bucks R.O. D/CE; 26 October, 1777; and 4 November, 1777.

3. Ibid., 7 August, 1783.

here, asks much about you, & wants to appoint you his Captain...the Dr. & Mrs. Parker are also very kind in their enquiries about you... We spent yesterday morning in the sweet Elysian Gardens the gentlemen fishing & Ladies working, to night if it is fine we hope to be there with the additional luxury of the french horns...Sir John has now here one of the riding masters of his troop, who rides Pearl everyday, & is giving him every gratification he can want".

That Marianne continued to enjoy herself seems to be beyond doubt, for she was still there in December¹ of that year, and still furnishing her brother with accounts of some of the events to occupy her time.

Tuesday Mr. Wyndham & Captain Raymond² dined here, they were both very pleasant & chearful,...General Raynsford broke up our chearful party this morning & the Parkers with the dear engaging Charles leave us tomorrow. Miss Clayton & I are to leave this dear sweet Place on Monday, you will easily imagine with how sincere a regret on my side, as after having been above five months together, the parting between my dear Sister and I will be a very sorrowful one,...Only think how provoking! after all the trouble Sir John took to get his Greyhound again, it is not worth anything, and will not run at all, they tried it this morning a coursing .

That Marianne found Audley End to be such an enchanting place might well explain why she was married to Colonel Henry Edward Fox, by special license, in the house chapel there in November 1786, the ceremony being performed by the Bishop of Rochester.³

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1. Ibid, 11 December, 1783. See also, C. Bruyn Andrews (ed.), The Torrington Diaries Containing the Tours Through England and Wales of the Hon. John Byng (later Fifth Viscount Torrington) between the years 1781 and 1794 IV (1938), 20: Friday May 16 "andwhere hares are wanting - I must by application, to the Duke of Bedford, and to Ld. Howard, procure frequent mettings from Woburn, and Audley End Parks".
 2. Both of them were local gentlemen: Wyndham supported Lord Howard over the Cam navigation, and Raymond preceeded him as Treasurer of the church restoration committee: see chapter 4.
 3. E.R.O. T/B 171/6; 17 November, 1786. D/DBY F10/13. Their son, Henry Charles Fox, died at Audley End on 24 January, 1788, and is buried in Lord Howard's vault; see, Braybrooke, Audley End, 194.

Another of the Claytonsisters to record her impressions of Audley End and its occupants was Louisa. Writing from Windsor in October 1784¹, and again to her brother William, she intimated that "I hope we shall meet at Audley End, where is always a chearful society". That particular wish seems to have been granted as she looked forward to William joining her there in December, possibly to celebrate Christmas.² It seems very likely that in spending so much time with his Clayton in laws, Griffin was also fond of young company.

But one of his oldest and closest friends was Richard Neville Neville, Lady Portsmouth's nephew by her first marriage. Although it was Griffin, and not Neville, who was the principal beneficiary under her Ladyship's will,³ when there might have been cause for rivalry, the two remained on very friendly terms, and it was Neville's son, Richard Aldworth Neville who eventually succeeded Griffin.⁴ On the evening on which Lady Portsmouth's will was read, 14 August, 1762, despite his disappointment, Richard Neville could write⁵ of Griffin that he "is a fine honest Fellow, & I am glad since thro' old Grey's Folly I have been a sufferer, so good a Man is Better'd by it". Griffin also wrote⁶ on the same day and his regard for Neville is evidenced by his reference to "my Friend Dick", and his sentiment that the sooner the transaction in hand,

1. Bucks R.O. D/CE; 24 October, 1784.

2. Ibid; 2 December, 1784.

3. See chapter 6.

4. He was Richard Aldworth Neville who became the 2nd Lord Braybrooke, but did not succeed to the Howard title.

5. D/DBy C2/7; 14 August, 1762: he had also written two days earlier, D/DBy C2/6.

6. D/DBy C2/13.

namely his aunt's will, was finished, "especially where Friends are concern'd", the better pleased he would be. The friendship between the two men became a family affair with the first Lady Griffin and Mathew Whitwell also corresponded with Neville.¹

The friendship between the two men was such that by January 1763 Neville prepared a new will stipulating that Griffin should be guardian and trustee of his children.² The understanding between them is also reflected in a letter³ of his to Griffin later in that year when he stated that "I hope we shall never keep a Book of Debtor and Creditor with regard either to letters or visits, we know and love one another too well to judge of our Friendship by such a standard". Nine years later the tone of their correspondence was much the same when in June 1772⁴ Griffin wrote that if "I was not as well known to You as I am, It would not surprise Me to hear from a Third Hand that You had accus'd Me of Ingratitude, & neglecting my Friends, after your's & your Son's Proofs of Friendly Attention, in letting Me often hear from You". Another letter of his in January 1773⁵ suggests that the festive spirit continued at Audley End when he mentioned that "We have laugh'd & danc'd away the Time very cheerfully in our own, with several kind Friends, & I assure You often wish'd

1. D/DBy C2/21.

2. D/DBy C2/24. In his will, Neville referred to Griffin as "my good friend" and "as a small token of the regard & affection I had for him one Hundred Pounds": Berks R.O. D/EN F56, a copy of his will, not complete, c.1780; the actual will is catalogued D/EN F40/9.

3. D/DBy C8/25.

4. D/DBy C3/24.

5. D/DBy C3/28.

You among Us: We often drink your Health & am glad to find You are much better for It". That Neville was not among the company at that particular time was due to his career as a diplomat in Europe.¹

However this was not always the case. An entry in Neville's diary² for 28 September, 1777, reads: "to Audley End where I spent three weeks most agreeably & in the finest weather possible. Dick & his friend joined us there on the 2nd October having finished their Tour most prosperously. On Sunday Oct 19 Dick & I took leave of our hospitable friends". Other entries record in particular his son's visits to Audley End, sometimes for social purposes and on other occasions for business transactions.³ Understandably, the Nevilles also entertained the Griffins at Billingbear, Berkshire.⁴ In one of his letters⁵ in which a proposed visit was mentioned Neville promised the Griffins that "you shall be as much Master and Mistress as ever you were in your lives", and in another letter⁶ on 14 August, 1773, he mentioned that the Griffins "from Claytons dind with me, th wer full of Comendations of the Billingbear venison this year". In August 1776 Sir John and his Lady spent a fortnight at Billingbear. An entry on 14 September two years later mentions

1. For example, Neville was at this time in France.

2. Berks R.O. D/EN F55/1.

3. For example, on 5 November, 1776, an entry records that "Dick went with the Cornwallis' to Audley End"; or on 18 May, 1777, he mentioned that his son "goes tomorrow to Audley End to meet Messrs. Hamilton, Hayes Hatsell". Hayes was Griffin's manor steward and Hatsell was involved in some of the estate transactions, see Part IV.

4. Billingbear had been Lady Portsmouth's home and on her decease it had passed to Richard Neville.

5. D/DBy C8/25; 16 August, 1763.

6. P.R.O. 30/50/59; number 34.

that Neville was unwell but fortunately Griffin was there "without whose assistance God knows what I should have done". It transpired that the King had called and that her Majesty had been desirous of meeting Lady Griffin. Due to his own ill health, it had been Sir John, on horseback who had seen the royal party off. The following September, on their way to visit the Claytons at Harleyford, the Griffins "dined with us...& hailed my entry into my Grand Climacterick". It would seem as if the Griffins made it a habit of calling in on the Nevilles on their way to or from Harleyford.¹

Sir John also remained on friendly terms with the Portsmouth family, after his aunt's death and beyond the period that he sat for the borough of Andover. The closeness of these ties is clearly evidenced in a letter² from Urania, Lady Portsmouth, to Lord Howard, in June 1789. It was because of the friendship that existed between the two families that she felt encouraged of "laying before your Lordship any circumstances in which its welfare is involved...the very obliging and kind attention I have myself, at all times experienced at your hands affords me...to believe that I may use this freedom without danger of your Lordship's displeasure or hazardise forfeiture of your good Opinion...I am naturally led on an emergency like the present to seek the Advise and Assistance of those who are justly esteemed its true friends". It transpired that her son, Lord Lymington, although of an age to offer himself as Parliamentary candidate for Andover, had, unfortunately, little hope of supporting a public station with credit. She and her husband were in a dilemma. Should they allow their son to present himself at the next election, thus exposing his imbecility to the world: or should they try to conceal his condition and

1. Berks R.O. D/EN F55/1.

2. D/DBY C9/53.

be criticised for depriving him of his birthright? Lady Portsmouth suggested that Sir John and Lady Griffin should spend a week with them at Hurstbourne in August "when your Lordship will have an opportunity of observing the behaviour and conduct of Lord Lymington, and from thence be able to form some idea of his character, and have it in your power to advise us how to act for the best". She intimated to Sir John that his intervention would "contribute in the highest degree to my Peace of Mind...and I am sure be conducive in the most essential manner in the true welfare of the family". She added that as an inducement and with Griffin's approbation they would invite the Nevilles or any other of his friends to honour them and make Hurstbourne agreeable.

The projected visit, if it took place, must have borne some fruitful results, for correspondence¹ mentions a new settlement that was to be made. By 25 November of the same year, Lady Portsmouth wrote² of her own satisfaction of knowing that Sir John approved of the measures that they were pursuing and that the terms of the settlement were deemed by him to be liberal and fair. She expressed her "greatest Obligations to your Lordship for your kind Endeavour to imprint the same Sentiments upon the Mind of Lord Lymington, and to rouse in him a lively and grateful Sense of Obligation to his Father and myself". She was glad to find that Griffin was of the same opinion that another excursion abroad was the best manner of employing Lord Lymington's time. About a month later Lord Portsmouth himself wrote³ requesting Sir John to become one of the trustees for the new settlement of the Portsmouth estate. A note in

1. D/DBy C9/54-59.

2. D/DBy C9/60.

3. D/DBy C9/62; 29 December, 1789.

Griffin's hand indicates that he accepted the trust.

On other occasions he sought to aid his friends in much the same way as he had attempted to promote the interests of some members of his family. In January 1767¹, he wrote to Chatham on behalf of his friend Dr. Peckard, mentioning that as the Prebend of Worcester had died, and although the position in question was one of the lowest in the gift of the Crown, "I remember my Lord, when I had the Honor to solicit You in his Favor, You was kind enough to express Yourself to this Effect; that taking Something at first often lead the way to something more considerable". But it transpired that the King had already filled the vacancy, although it was impressed that Chatham would have "a particular pleasure" in obeying Griffin's commands for his friend when a "practicable" opportunity presented itself, which might not be for some time as applications for such positions had "so infinitly multiplied".²

Griffin continued in his efforts to serve the interests of his friend. In January 1769³ a letter was sent to the Duke of Grafton and another in December 1776⁴ when vacancies appeared. In his second letter to Grafton Griffin suggested that "in the multiplicity of Business...it may have escap'd your Grace's Memory that I did at that time interest myself extremely for Mr. Peckard one of the oldest & most intimate Friends I have in the World". He explained that Peckard, who had a living close to Peterborough, was personally known to the Bishop there, and he requested that Grafton use his influence with the Bishop to promote

1. D/DBy C8/82.

2. D/DBy C8/83.

3. D/DBy C8/90: he was head of the Treasury.

4. D/DBy C9/20.

Peckard and concluded by stating that his servant had received orders "to wait on your Grace's Comands & to save time may take any Letter you shall please my Lord to write to the Bishop". Although in his reply¹ Grafton indicated that he would do what he could, it was in fact Griffin himself who was later able to oblige his friend although in another direction.²

Another friend for whom he attempted to intercede was Robert Etwall. In a letter³ to Chatham in October 1769, he requested him to influence Lord Camden, the Lord Chancellor, "to do Something for a Friend of Mine that is tenable with the Profession of an Attorney in the County". Griffin assured Chatham that he would not have troubled him, but he was under the greatest of obligations "in Election Concerns att Andover & whom no Temptations has hitherto been able to draw aside from my Interests". Etwall had been Griffin's principal election manager for many years and "(although an Attorney) would never take from Me the least Present or Salary, as my Agent - It is not therefore in my Power Alone to make Him any Reward! I am however in Gratitude bound to do what I can for Him - & It is beside too much my Interest to Secure the Continuance of his Friendship, not to expect Myself in his Favour". Griffin had already been in touch with Camden, but as the correspondence peters out it is impossible to tell how successful Griffin was in helping his political agent.

As occupier of Audley End, Griffin was in a position to act as patron

1. D/DBy C9/21.

2. See below.

3. P.R.O. 30/8/38: letter 17.

in two spheres, ecclesiastical and academic. In 1761 the Reverend William Gretton had been appointed to the vicarage of Littlebury, one of the adjoining parishes to Saffron Walden. As lay rector¹ Griffin appointed him to the vicarage of Saffron Walden in 1766, which living he held until his resignation in 1810.² He was also Griffin's domestic chaplain, and there is clear evidence to show that a strong friendship existed between patron and beneficiary.³

The occupier of Audley End was also hereditary visitor with the privilege of presenting to the mastership of Magdalene College, Cambridge.⁴ Lady Portsmouth had presented one George Sandby as a seat warmer so that the mastership could be reserved for Lord Portsmouth's grandson, Barton Wallop.⁵ It was Griffin who duly presented Wallop in 1774, but he was considered by the college historian⁶ to be more worthy of remembrance for his sporting rather than for any other abilities, and he died from a shooting accident. It was in his place that Griffin appointed Peckard,⁷ who, in turn, was succeeded by Gretton, some seven months after Griffin's own death in 1797.⁸ Griffin was benefactor of

1. See, V.C.H. Essex, 11 (1907), 110-15.

2. He held Littlebury until his death in 1813. Braybrooke, Audley End, 189.

3. For Gretton's tribute to Lord Howard, see Part V.

4. This practice continued until 1925.

5. B.M.Add.Ms.32907, f.417: Lord Portsmouth to Newcastle, 27 June, 1760.

6. See, E.K. Purnell Magdalene College (Cambridge 1904).

7. J. Nichols, Illustrations of Literary History VI (1831), 729.

8. He was presented by Dr. and Mrs. Parker.

the College, and there are two portraits of him there today.¹ Shortly after Sir John's death, his Lady, in a letter² to the second Lord Braybrooke mentioned that a buck from the Audley End Park used to be given annually to the College.

Although Griffin's right of presentment was of no great concern throughout the period, in 1763, his influence with the master was considered to be of some importance when the Earl of Sandwich applied for the position of High Steward of Cambridge University. The vacancy occurred as a result of Hardwicke's death, and it was his heir who stood against Sandwich.³ To ensure success, Sandwich wrote personal letters to possible supporters, and these included Griffin. Having helped Sir John's brother, Mathew, in September 1763 Sandwich wrote⁴ in November of the same year requesting that Griffin would recommend his cause to George Sandby, the master of Magdalene, "whose countenance & support may be very material". Although Sandwich had been outspoken in his denunciation of Wilkes, and one day before Sandwich's letter had been written, Griffin had voted against the government over Wilkes,⁵ Griffin, nonetheless, in his reply,⁶ assured the Earl that the readiness and pleasure with which he should execute his orders would serve as proof of

1. Both of them are of him in military uniform. I wish to thank Mr.R.C.Latham, Pepys Libraries, Magdalene College, Cambridge, for this information.
2. D/DBy C6/5.
3. G. Martelli, Jenny Twitcher, A Life of the Fourth Earl of Sandwich, 1718-1792 (1962), 70-1.
4. D/DBy C8/32.
5. See chapter 3 and appendix 1.
6. D/DBy C8/33.

the personal regard he bore Sandwich, and promised to write to Sandby "in such Terms as I should hope would be effectual". However, he felt obliged to mention "one Thing that I am apprehensive may be against you". For Sandwich's candidature for the High Stewardship coincided with the Essex county by-election to be held in December.¹ It was over Sandwich's support for one of the candidates, John Conyers, that Griffin felt apprehensive, and accordingly he warned the Earl that Cambridge "in general are much attached to Mr. Luther's Interest & are not insensible of the active Part you have taken in our County Struggle perhaps therefore you may think it but prudent my Lord. I speake with great Submission to moderate & abate your zeal for Mr. Conyers". He concluded by stating that he would be happy to tell his friends in Cambridge should Sandwich act upon his advice and felt sure that such a course would be of "infinite Use to your Cause".

In a letter² to Sandby Griffin explained that he was under a personal obligation to Sandwich and requested that Sandby should also give his support. Sandwich, in his reply³ to Griffin, conveyed his thanks for the promised support but declined the advice offered. Sandby, for his part, appears to have made two replies,⁴ both on 28 November. In one of these letters he pointed out that as a result of advice and directions received from the late Lord Portsmouth, he felt sure that Griffin would not wish him to violate promises he had given. Although he did not approve of the way Sandwich had conducted himself he would have been

1. See chapter 3.

2. D/DBy C8/35.

3. D/DBy C8/34.

4. D/DBy C8/36.

prepared, in the light of Sir John's letter, to waive his objections. In his second letter¹ he stated that although his own sincere esteem for Griffin along with the earnestness of the request were powerful considerations, he had not expected Sir John to concern himself in university matters that he had long since listened to the recommendations of the Chancellor and felt it out of his power to recede from any engagement. He assured Griffin that in any such matters that he could possibly obey his commands he would be happy to do so and expressed his great grief when it was necessary to do otherwise.

In turn, Sir John² let Sandy know that he considered that he "had some little Title to ask the Favor", and mentioned that Sandwich's application to him was a clear indication that others, too, felt that he had some influence with the master of Magdalene. On the same day³ Griffin sent a copy of Sandby's letter to himself, as well as his own reply to the master, to Sandwich, as a token of his own sincerity. Further letters passed between Sandby⁴ and Griffin and Sandwich⁵ and Griffin, and although the relationship between Sir John and the master became a little strained, when Sandby explained the circumstances that determined his conduct, Griffin wrote⁶ in a conciliatory manner and mentioned that he would be pleased to see him at Audley End. Sandby responded at once⁷ stating that nothing could have been calculated to cause

1. D/DBy C8/37.

2. D/DBy C8/37.

3. D/DBy C8/38.

4. D/DBy C8/39.

5. D/DBy C8/40.

6. D/DBy C8/41.

7. D/DBy C8/42.

him more uneasiness than "a Friend whom I have long known, and have the greatest value for, shou'd entertain the least anger for my not performing Impossibilities". It transpired that Sandby was at that time attempting to promote his own career and in doing so had "engag'd" himself to the Chancellor, and for him to have switched allegiance would not only have been dishonest but would also have affected his prospects adversely. Consequently Griffin¹ wished Sandby success in his quest and another letter² from Sandwich requested that an approach be made to one of the tutors on his behalf.

Although the University business did not directly involve Griffin further, the Essex by-election took place on 13 December, and it was the only occasion when he took a leading part in county politics.³ He was active in promoting Luther's cause and according to some contemporary opinion⁴ it was due to Sandwich's intervention in the election that Griffin participated himself. This election result was seen by the opposition as a defeat for the government. It is hard to be sure whether Griffin treated the two elections as separate issues, for although opposing Sandwich in the political arena, if we are to believe the evidence, he did his best for him over the university post. Against this, however,

1. D/DBy C8/42: this is a copy of his letter written on the back of Sandby's letter.

2. D/DBy C8/43.

3. See chapter 3.

4. "The Court have lost the Essex election merely from Lord Sandwich interfering in it, and from the Duke of Bedford's speech, a great number of votes going from the City on that account to vote for Luther. Sir John Griffin who was disobliged by Sandwich's espousing Conyers, went to Chelmsford at the head of five hundred voters". See, Mrs. Paget Toynbee, Letters of Horace Walpole, Fourth Earl of Orford IV, 1760-1764 (MCCCCLV), 415-6, letter 922.

it is clear that Griffin attempted to modify Sandwich's support for Conyers in the parliamentary election. Whether Sir John would have brought more pressure to bear on Sandby if Sandwich had accepted his suggestion, or whether Griffin acted as he did in the Essex election as a result of Sandwich's interference in county business,¹ is difficult to determine. No doubt Griffin did find himself in a delicate position in as far as he was indebted to Sandwich and did not want to interfere in Sandby's promotion prospects, and although he might have wished that the two issues were separate, they were in fact related to each other. It has been suggested that one of the reasons for Sandwich's interest in the university post was to show the Duke of Newcastle, the Chancellor, and on whose good will Sandby depended, that he might be defeated in what he, the Duke, considered to be his headquarters.² Furthermore, it was the Duke who had recommended Luther to his friends in Essex,³ and Griffin had solicited Newcastle over his own army career.⁴

That Sir John had been called upon by one of the political leaders of the day to intercede on his behalf would partly be looked upon with a sense of pride, for when a "man of rank and property had an appointment to make or influence,...he looked first, and was expected and actively solicited to look, among his 'friends'".⁵ Likewise the same pride manifested itself in one of the aims of the ruling group, to entertain royalty.

1. Both Luther and Conyers had applied to Grenville and Sandwich for government support, but the latter's intervention probably cost Conyers the election. See, Namier & Brooke, op.cit., 1, 275-6.

2. Martelli, op.cit., 70-1.

3. Namier & Brooke, op.cit., 1, 275-6.

4. See chapter 2.

5. Perkin, op.cit., 45.

In October 1778 the King and Queen had visited the 9th Lord Petre at his new mansion, Thorndon Hall, near Brentwood.¹ In August 1786 they had paid a second visit to Lord and Lady Harcourt at Newnham Courtney, and as Oxford had been included in the itinerary, it was expected that Cambridge would also be visited. Should a visit materialise, Audley End appeared to be most suitably placed to entertain the royal party. By September 1786, it was stated in the local paper that a visit was expected at Audley End.² Another source states that the visit was planned for October, and that the King had personally expressed a wish to visit the University from Audley End.³ There would have been several reasons why Lord Howard would have been gratified to entertain their majesties, and both he and Lady Howard sought the advice of Lord and Lady Harcourt.⁴ Although the visit did not take place, there can be little doubt that Audley End, restored and embellished, along with his Lordship's meticulous planning would have provided the royal party a good deal of satisfaction. Indeed, a contemporary account⁵ informs that:

Lord Howard, among other good points of thinking and acting, is well known to be distinguished in his attachment to the King and Queen - when they promised him a visit, he fitted up their rooms with much research of gratifying taste - Any man can furnish voluptuously who has the given quantity of silk and embroidery, who can have such artisans as Chipchase and Lambert, Woodeson and Moore; yet none, but a very good and elegant minded man, would have thought as such pictures as these - a whole length of the Queen for the Chamber - for the King's dressing room, his own Portrait, George II, Prince Ferdinand and Prince of Brunswick".

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1. Royalty in Essex (Essex County Council, 1953), 24; E.R.O. D/DP F 322/1 & 2.
 2. E.R.O. T/B 171/6; 8 September, 1786.
 3. W. Addison, Audley End (1953), 135.
 4. D/DBY C10/1-3.
 5. E.R.O. D/DBY E33.

Contact with their majesties, did, however, continue in another form, when for instance on 5 September, 1788, one of the London newspapers reported that on the previous day there had been a drawing room at St. James' Palace, which included Lord and Lady Howard, and that this was the first he had attended since his acquisition of a second title.¹

But there appears to be no shortage of visitors to Audley End. A glowing report was made by the Bishop of Chester.² After thanking Lord Howard for his congratulations on his recent promotion, an advancement that secured him a link with Audley End, the Bishop continued by stating that he had "already had such a specimen of that delightful place and its inhabitants that I am not likely to forego any pretence for renewing the pleasures I so lately experienced". He assured Sir John that he would most certainly avail himself of making Audley End one of his resting places on his visitation, but added that the "only danger is lest I should rest there too long, you had a narrow escape from this danger on my very first visit - I am afraid the marks of this Inclination to rest at Audley End still remain on your Lordship's lawn". And four years later, in 1791, another of Griffin's bishop friends, on this occasion the Bishop of Exeter,³ wrote to say that he hoped in the course of the year "to pass three or four happy days at Audley End the place next to Burghley that I prefer to any house in England...The politest and friendliest reception".

Occasionally, Sir John himself, gives some indication of who his

1. The Times, 5 September, 1788.

2. D/DBy C9/49.

3. D/DBy C9/65.

visitors were. For example, in a letter¹ to his friend Richard Neville, he mentioned that on that very morning, 22 May, 1793, Sir George Cornwall had left and that Lord Exeter had been prevented from joining their company due to illness. The company had included the Bishop of London and his wife. On another occasion² he informed his friend that the Duke of Rutland had called to see Audley End, and had been "lavish to a Degree in his Praises & said He never saw such a House in his Life for Magnificance & Convenience". The previous morning it had been the Duke of Somerset who had paid a visit. The frequency of visits to Audley End is, perhaps, echoed in Griffin's own words when he wrote that he was "so full of company".³

We also catch glimpses of his visiting friends. While at Oxford in 1789,⁴ he mentioned that "We make short Journies and travel quite at our Liesure after spending the Whole of this Day here. We shall proceed tomorrow & be with Lord Suffolk on Saturday". Lady Griffin, in the few letters that have survived to her brother, throws a little more light on their movements. In October 1784,⁵ she mentioned that they would accompany Dr. & Mrs. Parker to Hatfield on their way to Town "when we shall stay two days & the middle of next week we talk of going over to Denston for a night or two towards the end of the week after I hope we shall possess our valuable Ly. Louisa & our dear Sisters we hope you will join them, I trust their stay will not be less than a month". A week later

1. D/DBy C3/42.

2. D/DBy C4B/2.

3. Bucks R.O. D/CE; 14 June, 1787, letter 1.

4. Ibid, 13 August, 1789, letter 3.

5. Bucks R.O. D/CE; 24 October, 1784, letter 7.

she wrote¹ stating among others that "we were much entertained at the Play on Thursday the Man of the World & Rosina". On other occasions we see their movements in some of the county affairs.²

From the foregoing it is clear that he enjoyed the company of close rather than a very large circle of friends, and the strong bond of friendship within his family is much in evidence, as indeed, is the generous hospitality enjoyed by those who visited Audley End. But although it remains true that as a member of the ruling group, his position in eighteenth century society was measured as much by the number of 'friends' he could oblige, as by his property, one suspects that he was at his most natural among his own folk at Audley End and enjoyed himself as much as at any time when "after the Partridge...out of the ten Shot I had the good Fortune to kill Seven...I attribute my Success I assure You mor to Luck than to any Excellence of my own".³

1. Ibid, 31 October 1784, letter 8.

2. E.R.O. T/B 171/1 (1764-1768); 20 June, 4 & 18 July 1766.

3. Bucks R.O. D/CE; 20 September 1789, letter 4.

CHAPTER 6 : FINANCIAL RESOURCES.

In the preceding chapters an attempt has been made to analyse the many-sided role of one member of the English landed ruling group. But a portrayal of a landowner's way of life would not be complete without also considering the financial basis that made that way of life possible and which also sustained it. "It is hard", commented Professor G.N. Clark¹ of the early eighteenth century, "to find a class of mere landlords". Perhaps nowhere is this more so than when examining the finances of a landowner during this period.

It is difficult to follow the finances of this group in the eighteenth century partly because they had much more income from outside sources than had been the case before the Restoration.² The main sources of income by Griffin's time were rentals, investments, speculations, trade, careers, holding of public office, marriage dowries, inheritance, the promotion of agriculture and industry and the exploitation of mineral resources.³ "Outstanding wealth", Professor Mingay has stated, "was thus a means to even greater wealth".⁴ But Griffin did not belong to the Bridgewaters, Devonshires and Bedfords, or to the "agrarian millionaires",⁵

1. G.N. Clark, The Wealth of Nations (1949), 159.

2. Mingay, English Landed Society, 71.

3. For examples of discussion on this subject, see: Habakkuk, 'England', 4-11, in Goodwin (ed.), The European Nobility in the Eighteenth Century; Mingay, op.cit., 71-79; Gladys Scott-Thomson, The Russells in Bloomsbury: 1669-1771 (1940), 298-311.

4. Mingay, op.cit., 71.

5. J.H. Plumb, England in the Eighteenth Century (1957), 18.

with their commercial and industrial undertakings. He was not in the same financial league as the Duke of Bedford whose gross rentals in 1732 had been £31,000; or the Duke of Devonshire's in 1764 which was £35,000; or the Duke of Newcastle, who received £30,000 from estates in thirteen counties.¹

But if Griffin was not endowed with as many sources of income as some of his contemporaries, neither did he on the other hand experience certain factors that would have been a drain on his financial resources. For instance, there were no children to educate, no sons for whom to find a suitable station in life and no daughters with the problem of dowries, although there was a Dowager Duchess with a jointure.² The main areas of debt among this group were the strict settlement, personal extravagance, excessive building and election expenses.³ Although engaging in some of these activities, the evidence shows that Griffin was not a spendthrift, but a man of meticulous financial probity.

It is also difficult to follow the finances of this group because the method of handling income had changed. Previously, it had been handled by one person, and the income set against the expenditure gave the balance and financial position of the person. For Griffin, the evidence to survive is to be found in three repositories. Firstly, the main sources of information in the Braybrooke Collection⁴ consists of a document

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1. These, and other examples, are conveniently summarized in Perkin, The Origins of Modern English Society, 119. Of the Duke of Newcastle, Professor Kelch has recently shown that both contemporaries and historians have confused gross rentals with net landed income, thus ignoring charges made upon the estate. See R.A. Kelch, Newcastle A duke without money Thomas Pelham-Holles 1693-1768 (1974).
 2. See Part IV; Professor Habakkuk has instanced the wife of the 3rd Duke of Leeds who survived her husband sixty three years and drew £190,000 on the estate: Habakkuk, 'England', in European Nobility, 2.
 3. H.J. Habakkuk, 'Marriage Settlements in the Eighteenth Century', Trans. Roy. Hist. Soc., 4th Ser. XXXII (1950), 15-30; F.M.L. Thompson, 'The End of a Great Estate', Econ. Hist. Rev. (August 1955), 50. Professor Thompson has drawn our attention to the "debt-creating activity" of the 2nd Duke of Buckingham, concluding that the "capacious drain down which most of the really waste money was poured, was not his much publicised land purchasing, but his political career".
 4. Deposited in the Essex Record Office.

entitled "Cash Spent Annually 1749-1792",¹ a solitary pass book of Griffin's with Drummond's Bank for the years 1790-1795,² and of Lady Portsmouth for 1740-1753;³ a few wills;⁴ and marriage settlements;⁵ estate records⁶ and household accounts.⁷ Secondly, and most fortunately, there are the Bank Ledgers at Drummond's Bank, covering the period 1763-1797.⁸ Thirdly, there is the recent unearthing of records at Trinity House⁹ covering the period 1763-1797. Collectively, these sources throw some light on his financial position from 1749 to 1797. Understandably, they do not account for all his financial transactions, and inescapably, there are gaps. There is also an imbalance, in so far as it is generally easier to account in detail for the expenditure than for the income side of his financial position, and it is with the latter aspect that we shall begin our investigation.

From the document entitled "Cash Spent Annually",¹⁰ it is possible

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1. D/DBy F46: a memorandum in Griffin's own hand, see appendix 5.
 2. D/DBy A370: this is Griffin's copy of the entries in the Bank Ledgers for these years.
 3. D/DBy A369.
 4. Lady Portsmouth, Mrs. Whitwell and Mathew Whitwell's wills, D/DBy T11/1, and Griffin's own will, D/DBy A371 (copy).
 5. His first wife's marriage settlement, D/DBy T10/1, and his second wife's marriage settlement, D/DBy T10/11.
 6. D/DBy A292-296, 1748-1792.
 7. D/DBy A196-226, 1765-1797 (excluding 1795 and 1796).
 8. Drummonds' Bank Ledgers, 1763-1797: see also, H. Bolitho & D. Peel, The Drummonds of Charing Cross (1967).
 9. Trinity House, London: these records were deposited in 1948 and are not catalogued; see Bibliography.
 10. D/DBy F46: this figure is based on my calculation which corrects the original of £356,842 10s. 4d.

to show that between 1749 and 1792, a total of £341,347 15s. 2½d. was spent, and the Bank Ledgers¹ record that for the period 1763 to 1797, a total of £250,227 10s. 1d. was spent. By adding the amount recorded in the Ledgers, £40,216 7s. 11d., for the years 1793 to 1797, that is, for the years unaccounted for in the first source, it is possible to show that the grand total expended by Griffin was at least £381,564 3s. 3½d.² It is significant that the first source commences in 1749, the year in which he was married, when he entered Parliament, when he changed his surname and arms to Griffin, and the year in which his aunt gave him her share of the Audley End estate. Between 1749 and 1761, that is, down to the year before he officially succeeded to the house, he spent £20,578 0s. 1¾d; in the years 1762 to 1764 his expenditure had risen sharply, and was at £22,133 19s. 7½d. Between 1765 and 1792, the highest annual expenditure was in 1785, when it was at £17,950 4s. 3¾d., and the lowest in 1776, when it was at £6,972. 8s. 4¾d.³ It is no less significant that the Bank Ledgers begin in his name in 1763, the year after his aunt's death, and the first entry in the Ledger for that year records the balance brought forward from Lady Portsmouth's old Ledger.⁴ The year in which, according to this source, most money was spent, was 1789, when the level was £17,372 14s. 1d., and the least spent per annum

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1. This figure is based on my calculation of the appropriate entries in the Bank Ledgers.
 2. This must be regarded as representing all his known expenditure.
 3. See appendix 6.
 4. Bank Ledger 1763: the balance brought forward was £426 19s. 6d.

was in 1779, when the figure was £2,778 5s. 6d.¹ As might be expected the two sources do not match, either in toto or on an annual basis. For instance, if we take the period when both sources can be compared, 1763 to 1792, the former shows an expenditure of £315,747. 11s. 0³/₄d.,² and the Bank Ledgers an expenditure of £210,011 2s. 2d. Similarly, on an annual basis, the high and low points instanced above do not coincide, so that when the Ledgers indicate a debit of £2,778 5s. 6d. in 1779, the family source shows an output of £9,103 7s. 1¹/₄d., and conversely, when the Bank Ledgers record an all time high output in 1789, £17,372 14s. 1d., the family source only shows £13,174 6s. 10¹/₄d. However, the first source indicates that a large sum of money was expended by Griffin, and the Bank Ledgers do confirm a high percentage of that figure. Briefly,³ this considerable expenditure was channelled into four main areas: his two houses, the household, the estate and the home farm. Audley End House accounted for £72,780, furniture for £13,434, making a total of £86,214. The London house attracted £8,157 and furnishings £2,255, totalling £10,412. Thus, his rebuilding and refurbishing activities, along with the usual overheads, amounted to £96,626. Secondly, the household, as a unit of employment and consumption, took in all £105,677. Thirdly, the estate, by way of investment and disbursements, accounted for £96,100. Fourthly, the home farm's debit was at £21,627. Collectively, these areas show an expenditure level of £320,030 of the known total of £381,564. On this basis, the sum of £61,534 remains unaccounted for in terms of precision spending. Over the period 1749 to 1797, this averages at £1,240 per annum, and although

1. See appendix 6.

2. D/DBY F46.

3. Each of these areas is examined in detail below, and the figures are based on my calculations.

it is not possible to quantify in detail, much of this can be accounted for in terms of personal expenses, some election expenses and the payment of annuities. The Bank Ledgers record payments for all three of these items, and the Trinity House material gives some detail in the case of annuities.¹ Regrettably, Sir John did not keep a personal account book, or if he did, it has not survived.

His financial position was such at the time of his death that he could bequeath in his will,² various sums amounting to over £7,000. One specific public indication as to the size of his income is given in the obituary in the Gentleman's Magazine in 1797,³ where it is stated that it was about £7,000 per annum. In view of the known total expenditure and with the knowledge that he died solvent, it would seem that this figure is a conservative estimate. With little evidence to help us before 1749, our examination must be confined to the forty eight years after that date until his death in 1797, during which time at least £381,564 was expended. Put in another way, we are looking for an average annual income of about £7,949.

In turning to the credit side of his financial affairs a number of specific sources of revenue are identifiable. They are, inheritance, marriage, investment, estate, farming, career, patronage and cash received from miscellaneous sources. Further, between 1740 and 1753, payments

1. That is, the payment of annuities not included in estate disbursements: Trinity House, 'An Account of the Annuities chargeable on the Winterton and Orford Light duties', amounting to £1,085 per annum at maximum level. The Bank Ledgers record the payments of annuities between 1763 and 1786; payments to his political agent, Robert Etwall as well as to Griffin himself.

2. D/DBy A371.

3. G.M., v.LXVII (1797), 529-30.

were made by the Countess of Portsmouth to Griffin and these amounted to £4,902 18s. Her one surviving pass book¹ with Drummond shows that these payments varied from as little as £20 to as much as £1,000 at any one time. Whether these payments represent an allowance made by Lady Portsmouth to her nephew, or whether after 1749 they represent her share of the profits from the Audley End estate, cannot be ascertained. But in the light of what is known of their relationship, and in keeping with what is known of Griffin's immediate family background, then the first explanation might not be out of place. Of this sum, £2,345 16s. was paid to him during the years 1749 to 1753.

A series of deaths played a significant part in Sir John's much improved fortunes in the 1740s, and inheritances were to bring further gains. On the death of his aunt in 1762 he inherited £12,000,² and on his brother Mathew's decease in 1789 he was the richer by £6,000 of stock.³ He was also the principal beneficiary of his parents, but apart from gaining his mother's share of the Audley End estate, it is not possible to quantify what this amounted to.⁴ Marriage, the second most important factor in changing the course that his life should take, was also to be a source from which he made cash gains. His first marriage in 1749 brought him £8,000⁵, and through his second in 1765 he was able to raise £10,000 on his wife's estate.⁶ Collectively, the cash gained

1. D/DBy A369.

2. D/DBy F46.

3. Bank Ledger 1789.

4. D/DBy T11/1.

5. D/DBy F46.

6. Ibid.

from these sources amounted to £38,345. So far, we have been concerned to show cash accumulated by Sir John, and in one sense have demonstrated capital accumulation: what of his known sources of income?

Interest from investment in stock was one such source of income. This policy seems to have been initiated by Griffin in 1765, and participation continued for the remainder of his life.¹ That it was begun at that time coupled with the amount of stock held in that year, £12,800,² might well suggest that he invested the cash received from his aunt. Investment had a two-fold advantage: firstly, the interest arising would provide him with a regular income; secondly, he would have at his disposal a fairly liquid reserve of capital. Altogether, there were five areas of investment. Between 1765 and 1774 he held Bank Stock; from 1765 to 1771 he held 1756 $3\frac{1}{2}\%$; in 1767 and in 1776 he held India Bonds; between 1771 and 1786 he held 4% Consols; and from 1776 to 1783, and again from 1786 to 1797, he held 3% Consols. He also inherited £6,000 of this last stock from his brother in 1789. That he was able to invest at all suggests that he possessed surplus cash, and that £14,000 remained in stock at the time of his death is further testimony to the depth of his pocket. Between 1765 and 1797 interest amounted to £8,858 13s. Od., which averaged at £276 per annum. This varied according to the amount of stock held at any one time from as little as £30 in 1784 to as much as £622 7s. 2d. in 1790 and at the time of his death was at £420 per annum.³

Two other areas providing regular income were the estate and the home farm. For present purposes⁴ suffice to state that his total income

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1. Bank Ledgers 1763-1797: it is not possible to tell whether Griffin was advised by his bankers, as was Lord Ashburnham, for instance, by Richard Hoare, see Mingay, op.cit., 62.
 2. See appendix 7.
 3. This last amount is also recorded in his pass book, D/DBy A370.
 4. These aspects, estate and home farm, are examined in detail in Part IV: appendices 41 and 45.

from the estate between 1754 and 1797 amounted to £94,300. This consisted of rents, sales, quit rents, court fines, tithes and sundry payments, and averaged at £2,548 per annum. As he is known to have had an income from this source down to his death, it does not seem unreasonable to project that the full income down to 1796, the last complete year of his life, would not have been less than £108,100¹. Although not income, the home farm shows financial transactions on the credit side amounting to £30,864 between 1773 and 1797.

There were also the out county properties.² The Northamptonshire estate with an annual rental of £908 yielded £6,356 for the complete years 1789 to 1796.³ It is very probable that the Norfolk property accounted for a further £8,915 between 1783 and March 1797. The Bank Ledgers⁴ record regular and substantial payments during these years by a Kerrison who is mentioned by Lady Griffin as being of Norwich.⁵ This was in all probability Sir Roger Kerrison of Brooke Hall, a banker and twice mayor of that city.⁶ It is possible that the Suffolk estate gave an annual rental of about £170⁷ totalling £2,040 for the period 1785 to

1. Griffin continued to extend the size of the estate after 1791.

2. These will be discussed more fully in Part IV.

3. D/DBy T26.

4. Trinity House: A Map of an Estate at Winterton in Norfolk The Property of the Right Honourable Lord Howard. See also appendix 40.

5. D/DBy C6/3: 30 June 1797; see appendix 8.

6. W. Rye, Norfolk Families (Norwich 1913), 436. I wish to thank Miss Jean Kennedy, Norfolk County Archivist, for this reference.

7. Hervey (ed.), Journals of the Hon. William Hervey...(1755-1814), 360. I wish to thank J.M.Craven, Assistant Archivist, Suffolk Record Office, for this reference.

1796, for again the Bank Ledgers record regular payments during this period when he is known to have owned land in Suffolk. Altogether, out county properties account for about £17,311 paid into his account at Drummonds.¹

But as well as being a farmer and estate administrator, Sir John was also a soldier, and one whose career spanned from 1739 to 1797. He rose from Ensign to the rank of Field Marshal and he was a colonel of different regiments for some thirty eight years. It was an age when commissions were bought and sold much like shares on the exchange, and when a colonel looked upon his regiment almost as his private property.² Although it is not possible to itemize precisely what his salary would have amounted to during the years 1739 to 1797, it can be stated that his regular promotions brought in a steady income, and that his colonelcies brought additional cash. Fairly regular payments are recorded in the Bank Ledgers from 1763 to 1797, although there are some noticeable gaps. Two of the better known army agents, John Calcroft, of Channel Row, Westminster,³ and Cox of Albermarle Street,⁴ made payments into Drummond. In 1763-64, Calcroft paid in £2,694 16s. 8d., and Cox paid in £500 in 1765, £2,574 11s. 6d. in the years 1776-78, and a further £19,846 11s. between 1781 and 1797, making a total of £25,615 19s. 2d.⁵ But this

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1. The Norfolk rentals appear to have been net, but it is impossible to tell with the Suffolk and Northamptonshire rentals.
 2. Sir J. Fortescue, 'The Army', 66-87, in A.S. Turberville (ed.), Johnson's England An Account of the Life & Manners of his Age (1952), v.1
 3. E. Hughes, 'The Professions in the Eighteenth Century', Durham Univ.Jnl. XIII, 51.
 4. F.G. Hilton Price, A Handbook of London Bankers with some account of their predecessors (1890-91), 48. See also Army Lists: both these are named as agents of the regiments of which Griffin was colonel.
 5. See appendix 9.

figure does not represent his total income from this source, firstly, because there are long gaps during the period when records are available; and secondly, there are no records before 1763, before which time he is known to have gained quite rapid promotion having become Lieutenant Colonel as well as regimental colonel before the first year in which his professional salary was recorded in the Bank Ledgers. However, on the evidence for the period 1763 to 1797, the identifiable total of £25,615 would only have averaged at £753 per annum, whereas in 1788, the King allowed him £1,200 per annum for the loss of his regiment in that year.¹ What emerges therefore is that although it is not possible to account for his full army pay over a period of fifty eight years, his income from this source was considerable, and this for thirty six years after he had retired from active service.

Another source of income which did not depend on too much activity on Griffin's part was his control of the five lighthouses around Winterton and Orfordness. Initially the lights were inherited from Lady Portsmouth, but his continued control of them depended on a royal grant.² The Bank Ledgers show that regular and substantial payments were made into his account in every year between 1763 and 1797. From

1. The Times, 11 March, 1788: see Part 1, chapter 2. See also, R.E.Scoutter, The Armies of Queen Anne (1966), 126-127, Rev.Whitworth, Field Marshal Lord Ligonier. A Story of the British Army 1702-1770 (1958); and P.R.O. H.O. 50/6, 159-165: In a letter to the Duke of Portland dated 14 February 1797 mention is made of the allowance to general officers. For example: Commander in Chief - £10 per day; General - £6 p.d., Lieutenant General - £4 p.d., Major General - £2 p.d. In peace time the General was paid £5 p.d; the Lieutenant General £3 p.d; and the Major General £1 p.d.

2. Trinity House, grant of five lighthouses, October 1765.

1763 to 1775 Charles Ambrose paid in £46,640, and from 1776 to 1797 John D'Oyly paid in £59,519, making a total of £106,159.¹ This averaged at £3,033 per annum, and as such, constituted the largest single item of average income. From the records deposited at Trinity House it has been possible to identify these two men as Griffin's agents who handled this money on his behalf.² Thus, although his estate at Audley End did not yield him as much as some of his fellow landowners were getting from theirs, his control of the lighthouses virtually guaranteed him a level of income that he might have expected from the original estate before the division.

Finally, there is that less clearly defined area, cash received from miscellaneous sources. Between 1763 and 1797 a total of £28,879 was paid into his account.³ This averaged £849 per annum. It is possible that this included any pay above that already accounted for. His possession of stock also enabled him to draw on this fairly liquid

1. See appendix 10.
2. Trinity House: an entry in 1775 states that "Mr. Ambrose the Late Agent and Receiver of the Light Duties, deceas'd - & Sir Jno.G.Griffin appointed Mr. D'Oyly his Successor in the Business". See also, D/DBy A37/3/79: a note in Sir John's hand advises "take this to Mr. Doyly at the Custom House who will pay it". On 29 September, 1797, Sir John's widow, as she had become by then, wrote that "the worthy Mr. D'Oyly has breakfasted with me this morning" having brought a balance of £587 1s: D/DBy C6/6. For other services rendered by D'Oyly see Par III. He also served the 2nd Lord Braybrooke, see D/DBy A373/2. The amounts received in the nineteenth century were much higher, for example, in 1810 it was £11,260 7s. 2d. Projected improvements to both sets of lighthouses as well as a new "Tower Light" were itemized in a letter from the future 2nd Lord Braybrooke, probably to Sir John, in February 1792, when the sum of £4,940 was mentioned: see D/DBy A372.
3. Drummond Bank Ledgers 1763-1797.

reserve of capital from time to time. There remain those frustrating entries which only record sums of money 'received' without mentioning specific names. But although lacking in precise detail, it is clear that quite a considerable amount of money was paid into his account at Drummonds and when computed on an annual basis represents quite a substantial input figure.

Returning to the question of how does the total input match the total output, the first answer would seem to be that it did. This is based on the knowledge that Sir John died solvent and also on the evidence contained in the Bank Ledgers that the credit side exceeded the debit side in all years but one between 1763 and 1797.¹ In working out a more precise relationship between output and input, a number of plausible answers suggest themselves. Against the total output of £381,564 it is possible to account for £364,134 and the Bank Ledgers confirm £293,136 of this, averaging at £8,621 between 1763 and 1797.² This input figure is composed of: -

Lady Portsmouth (1749-53)	£	2,345	16	0
Lady Portsmouth will (1762)		12,000	0	0
Mathew Whitwell will (1759)		6,000	0	0
First marriage (1749)		8,000	0	0
Second marriage (1765)		10,000	0	0
Audley End estate (1754-97)		108,100	0	0
Home Farm (1772-73)		30,864	11	9½
Out county properties (1783-97)		17,311	0	0
Lighthouses (1763-97)		106,159	0	0
Interest from investment (1763-97)		8,858	13	0
Army salary (1763-97)		25,615	19	2
Miscellaneous		28,879	18	0
<hr/>				
		£364,134	18	8¼/4
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1. In 1767 when it was £16 12s 5d.

2. See appendix 6.

On this calculation £17,429 or £363 per year remains unaccounted for during the period 1749 to 1797, but due to the absence of evidence army income for the period 1749 to 1762 is not considered.

However, in order to penetrate beyond the input-output level and attempt to examine the problem in terms of expenditure and income, it is necessary to present this evidence differently. The second method would be to consider the global expenditure figure in the same way, that is, £381,564 or £7,949 per annum for forty eight years, but to subtract inheritance, £18,000, and marriages, £18,000, from the global input figure, and to treat this sum of £36,000 as capital. This would leave £328,134 or an average annual income of £6,836, leaving £1,113 per year unaccounted for, but as in the previous calculation, army salary before 1763 is not considered.

A third method would be to shorten the period to 1763 to 1797, that is, when most of the evidence to survive coincides. This would reduce expenditure to £355,963 or an average of £10,469 per annum, and income to £307,352 or an average of £9,039 per annum, thus widening the gap to £1,430 unaccounted for each year. But this arrangement of the data is more unfair to the income side because estate income from 1749 to 1762 is not considered, whereas expenditure during the same period, that is before he succeeded to Audley End and commenced largescale rebuilding activities, was considerably less than it was to become after 1762.

Fourthly, if we accept the average annual expenditure for the entire period 1749 to 1797, that is, £7,949, and bear in mind that no debts were recorded when he opened his account at Drummond in 1763 or when he died in 1797, and from our knowledge of him it might be assumed that he lived within his income. Due to the absence of evidence for army salary before 1763 it does not seem possible to arrive at a figure which will give his

full income for the entire period. However, it can be shown that the Audley End estate between 1754 and 1797 yielded an annual average net income of £2,548; out county properties from 1783-97 an annual average income of £1,236; the lighthouses from 1763 to 1797 an annual average of £3,033; the army between 1765 and 1797 an annual average of £753; interest from investment from 1763 to 1797 averaged at £276 per annum; miscellaneous between 1763 and 1797 averaged £849 per annum; farm profits between 1773 and 1796 averaged £387 per annum. Together, these average incomes from different sources for slightly different periods of time amount to £9,082, and in 1791, the last year when all sources are available, his income was £9,834 per annum.

Finally, on the output side, the foregoing has assumed a constant capital level at £36,000, but this does not appear to have been the case. Whereas it seems probable that he used some of this capital to purchase stock, it is impossible to tell how he deployed all this sum. His investment policy was fluid and further £14,000 of stock remained at the time of his death. If we accept that this figure only should be considered as capital then it is possible to show a total income of £350,134 or an annual average of £7,294 over the entire period, thus leaving a gap of only £655 per year unaccounted for.

It is undoubtedly difficult to determine precisely what the total income of an eighteenth century nobleman was, and equally difficult to account for all the income from the identifiable sources. Griffin's particular experience highlights the general problems. Although a landowner much of his income came from outside sources. It is clear that no one person or indeed institution handled all his income, names flash across the pages of the Bank Ledgers, not all of whom are identifiable, and this lack of uniformity is not surprising in view of the

form that the development of banking was taking at this time.¹ Further, detailed accounts were either not kept or have since been destroyed or lost. But enough has emerged to show quite a close relationship between his total output and his known input.² It has been possible to itemise fairly precisely the main areas in which he spent most of the total expenditure figure of £381,564. It is to be hoped that this analysis of his finances has also shown that he had his finger in several of the financial pies of the day, and although less varied and less spectacular than some of his peers, they did provide him with a steady income. This enabled him to provide and sustain a style of living commensurate to his station, to embark upon an active estate policy and to carefully restore the Jacobean mansion of his ancestors.

1. D.M. Joslin, 'London Private Bankers, 1720-1785', Econ.Hist.Rev., 2nd Ser., v.7, 1954-55, 173. Between 1763 and 1786 the number of banks in London alone rose from 32 to 52. See also, L.S.Pressnell, Country Banking in the Industrial Revolution (Oxford 1956).

2. See appendices 11 and 12.

PART II : HOUSES AND ENVIRONS.¹

"...As you are at Audley End,² I imagine you deeply engaged in the amusing Cares of Building, planting, decorating etc.", so wrote the Elder Pitt to Griffin, and in doing so, touched upon the projects that were very close to the latter's heart.³ For not only was he to be engaged at his country seat, the Town house also received similar, if less ambitious, attention. The extent of his dedication is easily quantified in terms of both energy and cash expended. The energy called forth can be measured by mentioning that his restoration schemes were to occupy a good deal of his time after 1762 until his death in 1797. On the other score, the two establishments were to make financial demands of at least £96,626 between 1763-1797.⁴

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1. This section is based on the earlier work mentioned above although it does incorporate some new material and includes a new section on the Town house. It was considered that if the aim of seeing one nobleman "in the round" was to be achieved, then this vitally important aspect of his stewardship should not be omitted, although it is appreciated that it has not been possible to do full justice to such a sustained programme of restoration and embellishment as Griffin carried out between 1762-1797. The earlier work attempted to analyse and describe some of the main features of Griffin's dedicated work of restoration, and considered some of the many aspects involved in what has in general terms been called 'the rebuilding of a country house'. For this purpose, the bringing together of the building materials, the call made upon the many and different types of workmen, were issues as relevant and important as the actual rebuilding and embellishing work.
 2. For three and a half centuries Audley End has been one of the greatest of the great houses of England. During most of that time it was the home of three successive families, though for thirty five years in the seventeenth century it was - and not unfittingly - a royal palace. The first phase of its history, from 1603 to 1745, saw its magnificent springtime as the palatial home of the Earls of Suffolk prematurely overtaken by blight and decay as the decline of their family and impoverished line was matched by the dilapidation of the great house itself. In a second, happier and constructive phase between 1762-1797 it was the home of Sir John Griffin Griffin, who restored it from its earlier decay. Finally, it was the home of the Neville family from 1797 to 1948, when it was acquired as a great national treasure by the Ministry of Works after having been requisitioned for military purposes during 1941-46. For general histories of the house see Braybrooke, Audley End and Addison, Audley End. See also illustration 5.
 3. D/DBy 8/62: dated 1 November 1765. 4. This global sum will be analysed below.

(1) Audley End.

Firstly, to consider his work on Audley End, which in keeping with other great houses "was more than a pleasant place to live in, more than a memorial to its builder. It was the capital of the family and the repository of its tradition".¹ Much has been written about the compulsion to build and rebuild the ancestral home, and in no period could this have been more true than in the eighteenth century, a century that witnessed a boom in the building industry.² Had there not been a degree of compulsion with Griffin, there would, most certainly, have been the need to restore, and on a large scale. For the house that he succeeded to in 1762 had been described almost forty years earlier as "the ruins of the once largest and most magnificent pile in all this part of England",³ and a further token of its state of dilapidation was that his aunt had been able to effect its purchase from the Earl of Effingham in 1751 for only £3000.⁴ Griffin, in his turn, was to spend an enormous amount on some rebuilding, extensive restoration and embellishing, and in laying the whole out in pleasant surroundings.⁵ The building accounts show that

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1. J.H. Plumb, (ed.), Studies in Social History (1955), see H.J. Habakkuk, 'Daniel Finch, 2nd Earl of Nottingham. His House and Estate', 175.
 2. Sir John Summerson, Georgian London, (1945), p.1. An up-to-date bibliography is to be found in J. Mordaunt Crook, The Greek Revival Neo-Classical Attitudes in British Architecture 1769-1870 (1972).
 3. D. Defoe, A Tour Through England and Wales (1959), v.1, 88.
 4. Braybrooke, Audley End, 93.
 5. In this section we shall in the main be concerned with the house and surrounding park, but where relevant some material to do with this aspect of Griffin's work, for example, the employment of local labour and the circulation of capital has been considered in other parts of the present work.

between 1763-1767 he spent £9,778.¹ These include day books and monthly accounts for the numerous craftsmen and labourers.² The household accounts reveal that between 1765-1794³ he spent £58,588 on the house and gardens, including taxes, repairs and other miscellaneous payments. There are also specific building accounts including day books and monthly accounts. This averaged at £1,952, which if we compute for the two missing years and add the £510 spent in the last five months of his life in 1797, would give a projected total of £72,780. Such a figure compares more than favourably with amounts expended on some other country houses and reflects, if nothing else, the depth of Griffin's pocket and the extent of his ambition.⁴ Furthermore, unlike some of his rebuilding contemporaries he was able to commence his work almost immediately after succeeding to the house, without apparently having to nurse his resources carefully⁵ for some time or to wait for a rich heiress to make such schemes possible.⁶

1. D/DBy A258.

2. D/DBy A241-261; A365, 366; for details see Bibliography.

3. D/DBy A196-226: these documents are discussed fully in Part III: the volumes for 1795 and 1796 are missing: see appendix 13.

4. Some examples are to be found in Mingay, English Landed Society, 160.

5. For example John, 4th Duke of Bedford spent fifteen years carefully nursing his resources before he was able to embark upon the rebuilding of Woburn Abbey: see Gladys Scott Thomson, Family Background (1949).

6. Of Mary Stoyte's marriage to the 3rd Lord Darnley, Dr. Esmé Wingfield-Stratford has written that "one suspects that it was Mary Stoyte who supplied the necessary stimulus to her ageing husband to invest their Kentish seat with the magnificence that every eighteenth century nobleman was expected to achieve to the limit of his financial capacity". See E. Wingfield-Stratford, The Lords of Cobham Hall, (1959), 175.

Under Griffin the work was concentrated into two main phases, the first between 1763-1767, and the second from 1784 to 1786. A good deal of important work was also carried out between and after these sets of dates. His most urgent task was extensive repair work to both exterior and interior, so that he could then turn to the rearrangement of the interior to fit it for a fashionable way of life. Griffin succeeded in 1762 to the remains of a Jacobean mansion, and a Jacobean style house he was determined to maintain. The original house was a mixture of antique and modern, typical of the late Elizabethan and Jacobean times, and according to individual taste has been diversely described as one of the "gigantic mole heaps"¹ built in the semi-barbaric Jacobean style, and also as one of the "most powerful and impressive of Jacobean houses... a very considerable work of art".² However, some changes there were almost bound to be. For instance, what had originally been the middle of the inner court became as a result of drastic reduction in size the west and principal front of the house. What follows, therefore, is an examination of the comprehensive work carried out under Griffin with an attempt to distinguish such concessions that were made to prevailing architectural tastes.

Work on the exterior partly entailed rehabilitation of existing stonework together with some structural changes. The former was necessary because the long period of neglect under the Earls of Suffolk had taken its toll of the external stonework: the house was badly in need of a 'face lift'. Between January 1765 and July 1766, many masons and labourers worked under Mark Loadman, master mason. From January to May,

1. J.L. Milne, The Age of Adam (1947), 5.

2. Sir J. Summerson, Architecture in Britain 1530-1830 (1953), 46-7.

the masons between them worked $528\frac{1}{4}$ days and the labourers 415. They were engaged on "taking down and cutting out all the stonework that was decayed and broke. Backing behind the new stone when set, and pointing all the old work..."¹. Between 6 May and 1 July, the masons put in 155 days' work and the labourers 209 at the west front over the housekeeper's room and back over the great hall. From 1 to 29 July, they moved on to the west front over the great parlour and again back over the great hall. Between 29 July and some time in August, the masons worked 79 days and the labourers 78 on the front of the great hall. They turned their attention next to the south front over the library and to the arcade. By October they had got round to the north front, and in January 1766 were working at the great turret and clock, although less work was needed here, requiring only 26 days' work by the masons and 32 by the labourers. The two porticos, one outside the great parlour and the other outside the housekeeper's room, and parts of the north and south porches on the west front, received some attention between February and April 1766. Lastly, in July they concentrated their efforts on the great turret opposite the clock where 121 days of masons' and 111 days of labourers' work were called for. Altogether the entire operation took some eighteen months to complete, cost £601 5s. 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ d., and took up $1,702\frac{3}{4}$ days of masons' time and $1,509\frac{1}{2}$ days of labourers. Despite this, the stonemasons were again at it in 1785 "cutting out old stone to the porticoes at the house and working and setting new do. and repairing muntins".² Between 1787 and 1788 the exterior of the house was

1. D/DBy A365.

2. D/DBy A43/5 /1785.

thoroughly cleaned at a cost of £104 4s. 6¹/₄d.¹

Other exterior work required structural changes. Such work was partly necessitated by Lady Portsmouth's action in taking down the eastern range of buildings in 1749. This not only deprived the house of its magnificent gallery but also of a satisfactory means of communication between the north and south wings, as well as spoiling the eastern ends of both wings. The broken ends of these wings had to be rounded off in some way. In May 1764 Loadman and his men were busy "taking down pedestals at the end of wings, East southE. do. by alteration to raise them higher".² Some of this work had been started by his aunt, and it remained for Griffin to complete it. The two large bow windows he built at the eastern extremities of these wings are more modern than the remainder of the house and at first low in appearance they were later raised to a greater height during the second phase of rebuilding. The mason who directed this latter project, carried out between 28 March and 25 October 1785, was John Devall. It entailed "taking down parapet walls to back front of house. Building the north and south wings, peicing and resetting parapets and building chimney shafts".³ Altogether, the foreman worked 202¹/₂ days at the rate of 4s. a day, the masons 3,503³/₄ days at 3s. and the labourers 1,490³/₄ days at 2s.3d., making a total of £790 5s. 11d. The 3rd Lord Braybrooke⁴ referred to the destruction of

1. D/DBy A366.

2. D/DBy A259, p.35.

3. D/DBy A43/12/1785.

4. Braybrooke, op.cit., p.94: it should be pointed out however that the eastern range was then the most ruinous part of the house, and that she was doing no more than acting upon advice given to the last Earl of Suffolk, to pull it down. Lord Braybrooke was later to admit that the "former possessors of the house had judged right in reducing it, and that the demolition of the gallery was in some degree justifiable". Ibid, 132.

the long gallery as an "irreparable loss", and dismissed the arcade built by the Countess as a replacement as only "a passage when compared with the gallery which it was intended to substitute". Be this as it may, her action in doing so, however, created a problem for Griffin.

By the time he became master of the house, a single-storey open arcade, running behind the great hall and connecting the north and south wings on the ground floor, was complete.¹ Griffin did not find this new addition completely satisfactory, and in the next three years he pulled down the arcade completely or in part, and built anew. Between April and July 1763, the masons were busy taking down the arcade and digging foundations for a new one.² The foundations of the Portsmouth arcade were obviously not sufficiently strong to support the new structure that Griffin had in mind, because by 1765, a two storey gallery above an open arcade, had been completed. This new gallery was constructed along the traditional lines, occupying the whole length of the centre block and connecting the two wings in an H-plan house. It was built of brick and then dressed with clunch and ashlar by masons working under the direction of Mark Loadman.³ and John Hooper.⁴ Much of the internal plastering work had been carried out by Joseph Rose's plasterers, whose bill on one occasion amounted to £92 5s. 3½d.⁵ Samuel Wade, plumber and glazier, installed the sash windows,⁶ William Jackson, the carpenter, had been

1. E.R.O. T/B 125/1 (no.40,ii).

2. D/DBY A259,p91.

3. Ibid, 31.

4. D/DBY A244.

5. D/DBY A259, p.64.

6. Ibid, 77.

responsible for the roof and ceilings, seeing to the braces, rafters and guttering.¹ Robert Wheeler, the joiner, had laid 9 squares and 74 feet of deals for the floors² and the slater, William Thomas, had used 13 squares and 13 feet of Westmorland slates on the roof.³ Although it could not be compared with the original long gallery, 226 feet in length, the new gallery provided access between the north and south wings on each floor, and was built in line with the original staircases. In doing this, Griffin was perhaps following the original plan as best he could. The ground floor or arcade and the top floor were used primarily as passages between the two wings: the middle floor was known as the picture or long gallery.

The third major structural change was the erection of a new range of kitchen offices. They, too, maintained a link with the Suffolk past in the selection of the site. The original kitchen offices had been demolished by Vanbrugh in 1721, and to replace them the ground floor of the north wing had been converted for this purpose, as well as to house some of the servants' quarters. This arrangement must have proved inconvenient, and, on succeeding to the house, Sir John set about erecting an entirely new range of kitchen offices on the original site, beyond the north wing. Some old bricks were used by Richard Ward and his bricklayers in laying the foundations, as was some old stone by Loadman and his team of masons.⁴ This master mason was engaged on one occasion in "sorting over old clunch stone for ye kitchen".⁵ Rose and his

1. Ibid, 43.

2. Ibid, 52.

3. Ibid, 41.

4. D/DBY A259, p.24.

5. D/DBY A243 (April).

plasterers¹ were called in and one Morris was responsible for some of the painting work.² Sash windows were installed, for which Wade the glazier supplied the glass.³ Jackson, the carpenter, sawed quantities of timber for the roof and floor⁴ and the slates were again supplied by William Thomas: on this occasion 17 squares and 73 feet of Westmorland slates were needed.⁵

Numerous other tasks were performed. The old balustrade outside the library was taken down and cleaned, and so were the two Corinthian capitals and bases at the portico of the west front. Windows were repaired; some were moved to different parts of the house, and others were modernised by replacing old casements with sash windows. Roofs were reslated and new leads replaced the old. The numerous chimneys were repaired. The interior of the house, so dilapidated had it become, needed an equally vigorous campaign for its rehabilitation. Here, emphasis was laid on restoring, improving and adding to the comfort and convenience of the house, to bring it up to contemporary standards. Much of the work was of a minor character, but such meticulous concern for detail was characteristic of the thoroughness of the whole operation. Its continuance for the entire period was no less typical of Griffin's constant, vigilant stewardship. All parts of the house received attention. From the principal rooms to the family apartments; from the bedchambers to the servants' quarters; in the south and north wings;

1. D/DBy A259, p.65.

2. Ibid, 83.

3. Ibid, 77.

4. Ibid, 44.

5. Ibid, 41.

in the hall; even in the cellars. Nothing was missed. Everywhere the effects of the new broom were felt.

To modernise and to add to the convenience of the place, ceilings were whitened, awkward steps removed and sash windows fitted. The screen in the great hall and ornaments in the saloon and elsewhere were repaired. Old ceilings were taken down and replaced. The paving in the hall was attended to and new timbers laid on some of the floors. Where possible, existing friezes and cornices were repaired, and new ones replaced those past repair, windows were pointed, saddlebars and sashes fitted; others were blocked up. New glass replaced defective panes. Curtain fittings were fixed. Window shutters were taken down, altered and rehung. Wall surfaces were attended to, cracks filled and new plastering applied. Existing doors were taken down, repaired and rehung, and new ones put in where necessary. Defective locks and hinges were seen to. Doorways were bricked up and interior walls moved, altering the shape and size of some of the rooms. In the library recesses were cut to receive bookcases. Backs of chimney pieces were taken out and new ones fitted. Staircase skirtings, architraves, lintels, jambs, all received attention. It has been said that the only remaining part of the house left untouched are the cellars, but even this assumption is not altogether true. As Griffin did not choose to use the whole of the ground floor for housing the kitchen and its offices, the cellars continued to play a useful role. New ones were built, and the old repaired, improved, and brought into line with the remainder of the house.¹

This picture of the restorative work would not be complete without

1. These condensed accounts are based on D/DBY A241-261.

reference to what may be described as domestic amenities. In her account of the rebuilding work of the 4th Duke of Bedford at Woburn, Miss Scott-Thomson suggested that this side of the work "reflects the fresh possibilities for domestic comfort that were much to the fore in the minds of many who were undertaking building or rebuilding at this time".¹ Griffin shared such aspirations with the Duke and other contemporaries and his fulfilment of them affords yet another token of the wholesale nature of the rebuilding. Much attention was given to drainage. In January 1764 the old drain in the scullery yard was taken up and a new one inserted in its place. Another in the mount garden had been broken and had filled up with earth: five men spent a day putting this in good order. On another occasion digging work was necessary before the drain next to one of the new cellars could be examined to see that it was deep enough to take a drain from the new cellar. Finally, Richard Ward and his men examined the drains under the house itself. They were in a sad condition: "I found the old dreans all to be stopt having of know communication with know other drean was obliged to make all new dreans".²

The water system also received attention. Indoors, there were two water tanks, one at each end of the upper floor of the gallery, placed in the roof.³ The plumber⁴ was called in to see that the pipes were in good order and a wall pipe was installed for carrying waste water from two large cisterns. Outside, an engine served the house. An engineer, John Kinsey, installed two new pumps in the gardens, but the greater part

1. Scott Thomson, op.cit., 12.

2. D/DBy A249 (July).

3. E.R.O. T/B 125/1 (no.51).

4. D/DBy A259, pp.80-1.

of his energy was taken up with making the new engine costing £45 15s. 6d.¹ Five years later, in 1770, new iron chambers were installed² and further repair work was carried out in 1772.³ In 1784, a new engine house, costing £139 14s. 6d.⁴ was built, and the existing engine replaced by a new one at a cost of £65.⁵

Finally, attention was also given to the more personal amenities of life. Although the washing of the person was still considered by some to be "a somewhat superfluous activity",⁶ and bathrooms were almost non-existent,⁷ there was in fact, a bathroom of some description at Audley End at this time.⁸ Likewise with water closets, although in limited use generally, there was one at the house in the 1760's, and in 1785 Joseph Bramah travelled down to attend personally to the fixture of a "patent water closet".⁹ Nor were the privies overlooked. On one occasion the joiner spent some time in "taking down and rehangng doors to best privy" and later in "taking up seat of privy in mount garden and refixing the same".¹⁰ Comfort and convenience weighed as heavily as

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1. D/DBy A253.
 2. D/DBy A28/12/1770.
 3. D/DBy A30/7/1772.
 4. D/DBy A261.
 5. D/DBy A43/6/1785.
 6. D. Yarwood, The English Home, A thousand Years of Furniture and Decoration (1956), 249.
 7. Ibid.
 8. D/DBy A42/5/1784.
 9. D/DBy A43/10/1785.
 10. D/DBy A259, pp.59-60.

magnificence and splendour in the mind of the aristocrat of the day!

So far we have been concerned with the major restoration of the fabric. On this score there was little real innovation. Much of this work was made necessary mainly because of neglect by previous occupiers and partly as a result of the two-phase reduction in the size of the original house. Griffin, unlike some of his contemporaries did not embark upon a policy that would have resulted in the erection of a new building that might have satisfied the pundits of that architecturally minded period.¹ The two projects that actually came anywhere near to innovation were the building of the new gallery and new range of kitchen offices, but not only were both of these punctuated by the practical needs of living in the house, but also in their execution Griffin was more concerned with convenience than aesthetic appeal. With the new gallery, Griffin, as patron, was to triumph over the architect, Adam, for he sought, only to reject advice offered by the latter. The construction of the new gallery changed the appearance of the house: from the east, the hall could no longer be seen; from the west, the hall appears from a distance to rise to a greater height. Adam had advised Griffin with the view of avoiding this architecturally undesirable feature:²

I met Mr. Fordyce some days ago who told me that you had resolved to raise the Gallery to the height you proposed when last in London, I wish you may not repent it when too late. In that particular I would wish you to save money as I am sure it will give a flatness to the contour of the building without any advantage gained that can counter ballance that defect. This has been my steady opinion from the time you mentioned this intention nor am I in shape reconciled to it at this moment and I know you will approve of me for saying so.

1. For example Horace Walpole.

2. D/DBy C30.

It is clear that Sir John had ideas of his own and was not to be persuaded or bludgeoned by the architect, no matter how eminent the latter might be. Although it was Adam who designed the second project, namely the kitchen and range of offices, criticism was also to be levelled, on this occasion by the 3rd Lord Braybrooke, who later complained that "no attention was paid to (the) position or architectural appearance of the kitchens".¹ However, their detached position could well have saved the house itself, for these offices were destroyed by fire in 1881, and it does not seem out of place to suggest that such a prospect might have influenced Griffin's already pragmatic thinking in the first instance. As well as choosing the original site, Griffin also followed the Palladian concept of placing offices as far from the family apartments and principal rooms as possible.

Indeed, his re-arrangement of existing rooms was conditioned by the original layout of the house and the subsequent reduction in size. Audley End had started as a house built around two court yards, typical of the larger type of house erected during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, but was converted, due to reduction in size, into a house consisting of a hall at the centre, with kitchen offices at one end, north wing, and living rooms and principal apartments at the other, south wing. Griffin inherited this compromise - a massive fragment of a Jacobean mansion, conceived on near medieval lines and partially adapted to serve early eighteenth century needs. His approach to the problem of domestic arrangements may be considered from two aspects: firstly, how much change did he introduce; and secondly, was such change in keeping with contemporary ideas?

1. Braybrooke, op.cit., 131.

A ground floor plan¹ of the original house shows that the two main rooms in the west front, the hall and great parlour, remained unchanged during Griffin's day. Parts of the original building housing the chapel and kitchen offices had been taken down before 1762. When he succeeded to the house the rooms were arranged in the following way: the main block consisting of the great hall, behind which had been erected an open single storey arcade to replace the original long gallery. The south wing consisted of the great parlour, south parlour, south drawing room, library, north drawing room and north parlour. The north wing consisted of the chapel, butler's pantry and servants' hall. No such plans exist for the first floor and attics for these early years.

Plans² for the whole house, drawn up for Griffin in 1787, show the changes that had taken place since his succession, and reflect how far such changes were in keeping with contemporary designs for house planning. The main block consisting of the hall remained unchanged, but behind its east front a new three storey gallery had been erected. On the whole, the ground floor of the south wing had changed little, except perhaps for the use of new names to describe the different apartments. For instance, the great parlour of the Suffolk family became Sir John's dining parlour, the south parlour the drawing room, with the addition of a small vestibule separating both rooms. The south drawing room, somewhat reduced in size, was renamed the painted drawing room. The library remained in the east end, occupying the full breadth of the wing. The north drawing room had become the withdrawing room and the north parlour the supper room. The

1. Sir R. Blomfield, A History of Renaissance Architecture in England, 1500-1800 (1897), v.i, 71.

2. E.R.O. T/B 125/1 (nos.48 & 50): for the ground floor plan see illustration 6.

ground floor of the north wing had undergone extensive change. What had been the old kitchen in 1762 had been sub-divided into two rooms, namely the servants' hall and the bottle room. The housekeeper's and steward's rooms had been replaced by the butler's room and audit room respectively. The old butler's pantry had become the steward's room and the steward's hall renamed the steward's parlour. Where the second chapel was housed, the valet's and housekeeper's rooms stood.

On the first floor the south wing contained the principal rooms, including the saloon or fish room, the state dressing and bedroom, a tapestry dressing room, a dressing room, a bedroom, and a fourth dressing room. The north wing consisted of two bedrooms, four dressing rooms, and a wardrobe room. Opposite the saloon was the new chapel. This apartment was not created in either of the two main waves of the work, but belongs to the interim period.

Thus in his treatment of the domestic arrangements, Griffin combined the accepted practice of his ancestors with contemporary ideas. On the one hand, in removing the second kitchen offices from the ground floor of the north wing, he built a new range on the site of the original offices before they were pulled down by Vanbrugh. On the other hand, he followed the eighteenth century conception of house planning in so far as the ground floor of the north wing was given over to house some of the offices and servants' quarters, but he did not evacuate the whole ground floor for this purpose, as did some of his contemporaries, for the ground floor of the south wing contained some of the best apartments in the house. Thus unlike some of his aristocratic brothers, who completely incorporated the latest ideas in the design and planning of their houses, Griffin, at Audley End, adopted a mixture of old and new.

In restoring, therefore, to what extent did Griffin make concessions

to the prevailing architectural tastes? It was in the adornment of the restored interior that some concession was made to contemporary styles. The second half of the eighteenth century was characterised by what is known either as the 'Classical revival', or else as the 'Age of Neo-Classicism'; and a modern scholar has argued that Neo-Classicism cannot be entirely separated from Romanticism. "Indeed both classic and romantic attitudes are construed as permanent psychological states, interrelated, complementary, locked in creative conflict. During the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries this classic-romantic tension was creatively resolved in pursuit of a single goal: that romantic vision of a classic Arcadia which is summed up in the architecture of the Greek Revival".¹ But as its historian points out, the Greek Revival "was a slow business",² and although starting in England in the 1750s it took some seventy years to reach its zenith. For part of that period, architecture in this country "rested firmly in the hands of Robert Adam, the man who forestalled the Greek Revival".³ For a time Adam was Britain's foremost neo-classicist⁴ and throughout his career he remained one of the busiest architects in the country and served many of the most prominent and fashionable noble families of his day. Mr. J. Lees-Milne has stated that during the 1760s the Adam style spread like a "disease".⁵ This

1. J.M.Crook, The Greek Revival: Neo Classical Attitudes in British Architecture, 1760-1870 (1972) XI.

2. Ibid, IX.

3. Ibid, 71.

4. Sir N. Pevsner, An Outline of European Architecture, (1963 ed.), 353: Dr. Pevsner points out that although Adam is internationally known as the "father" of the Classical Revival in Britain, yet the "delicacy" of his style "is hardly what our present knowledge of Greek and Rome would lead us to expect from a true classical revivalist". He suggests that if anything his style is Rococo, but adds that "it is not wrong to see in Robert Adam a representative of the Classical Revival": Ibid, 356.

5. Lees-Milne, op.cit., 8.

"style" has recently been analysed by Dr. Stillman,¹ and he has shown that his method was consciously Neo-Classical, and that although he returned to ancient Rome for inspiration, his style was not purely Roman: a synthetic amalgam, it consisted of Greek, Roman, Hellenistic and Etruscan, Italian cinquecento and English Palladian. His style has also been described as a compromise between the Classic and Romantic states of mind, and it was partly due to this stylistic compromise that the Adam style made an instant and widespread appeal. But it has also been said of his work, that by the time of his return from Italy, the great country houses had already been built and in many cases it was left for him only to remodel their interiors. Indeed, his reputation survives chiefly as an interior architect, and essentially he brought about a decorative revolution. In the main this was true of his work at Audley End, where the emphasis was on restoration.

Adam worked for Griffin from 1762-1767, between 1769-1772, in 1778-79, and again in 1782. His work is of two-fold importance. He drew up plans for some of the limited physical alterations that did take place. More significant, and more in keeping with his work at other country seats, it was he who designed the remodelling of some of the interior decoration of the house. The classical style might, in some of its manifestations - authority, order, fact, clarity, regularity, reason, and common sense - have held some appeal for a person such as Griffin. But even more so it was characteristic of his ambitions for Audley End that he should gratify them by employing one of the most sought-after architects and interior designers of his day. However, to this must be added the fact that as Griffin was concerned with introducing

1. D. Stillman, The Decorative Work of Robert Adam (1966).

a certain amount of modernisation, the Adam method might also have had particular appeal for him. By the second half of the century interior decoration had become more delicate, and heavy gilded stucco ornament had given way to white and pastel shades, with gilt introduced here and there, and this change was largely due to Adam and the influence of his school.

Between 1762-1767 Adam presented a number of designs and his two accounts amounted to £296 5s. 6d. The first for drawings made between 1762-1764 amounted to £190 6s. 6d.,¹ and included a plan of the kitchen offices, brewhouse offices, a plan of the whole house with the alterations proposed and the new offices, a design of the principal front of the house, designs of several chimney pieces, cornices, ceilings, as well as designing a bridge, a monumental building in memory of Lady Portsmouth and making an alteration to the front of the gallery. The second account amounting to £105 19s.,² and included schemes for the library, little and great drawing rooms as well as various chimney pieces. Well might Adam write that "I am very sensible of the honor you have allways done me, by approving much of the designs I have made for you, which I have learnt from several persons at different times".³ Even so, as we have observed, Griffin also possessed ideas of his own: he was fully capable of choosing between the schemes which Adam put forward.

As far as the interior of the house is concerned, Adam's main contribution was to remodel and decorate a complete suite of rooms on the ground floor of the south wing. In its entirety the suite included a dining

1. D/DBy A365/12:

2. Ibid, A365/14.

3. Ibid, A365/13: dated 25 January 1768.

parlour in the south-west corner of the house; the great drawing room; the painted drawing or alcove room; the library occupying the full breadth of the wing in the south east side; and on the north side of the south wing, the little drawing room and supper room. In executing Adam's schemes a particular call was made upon plasterers, carvers, gilders and painters. Although plaster or stucco was in common use before 1760 as an inexpensive method of covering and decorating wall surfaces, it became increasingly more popular after the Adam brothers used new methods of design in the old medium. This method was also more in keeping with the lighter interiors of the period. The vast amount of plastering was undertaken by Joseph Rose, the supreme stucco craftsman with whom much of Adam's fame is shared. "In reckoning up the remarkable achievements of Robert Adam at some 45 country houses we should pause to give credit to the Rose family.¹ At Audley End payments made to Rose between 1763-1766 amounted to at least £450;² further work in 1769 came to over £236,³ and again for work performed between 1785-1786 he was paid over £320.⁴ Some of the designs were also executed by the Adair family of carvers, and both John and William Robert played their part in creating the Adam suite.⁵ The former worked in the great and little drawing rooms and library between 1768-1769; the latter in the

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1. G.W. Beard, 'Plasterwork in England', Country Life (8 December, 1960), 429.
 2. D/DBy A258: this figure has been reached by totalling the annual payments made to Rose between 1763-1767, as recorded in Wheeler's 'Book of Disbursements'.
 3. D/DBy A29/6/1771.
 4. D/DBy A44/11/1786.
 5. A Mr. Adair worked at Belhus, Aveley, Essex, for Lord Dacre in the 1750s. For this information I am indebted to Miss N.R. Briggs, M.A., senior assistant archivist at the Essex Record Office.

same apartments and also in the dining room from 1771 to 1774. The accounts rendered by them for over £350 give some indication of the volume of work.¹ John Adair's tasks included repairing, whitening and carving for the alcove in the little drawing room, carving paterae for bookcases in the library, and panels, architraves and friezes to the great drawing room doors: most of his work, however, lay in gilding the little drawing room, in burnished gold. It was William Robert who carried out the greater part of this work, in the form of carving, gilding and moulding:

Carving and gilding in burnish gold a rich pier glass frame outside a stagol leaf & reeds, in side moulding beaded, with a rich neat ornament consisting of honeysuckle leaves, husks bands scrolls & laid upon glass over a green ground between the above mentioned mouldings.

Ceilings, door panels and architraves, windows and friezes in the great drawing and dining rooms were beautified by William Robert Adair in the same style. Some of the painting work was undertaken by Biagio Rebecca who also worked with Adam. In 1768 Rebecca contracted to embellish the little drawing or alcove room for fifty guineas.² Another Italian craftsman to play a part in creating the Adam suite was Giovanni Battista Cipriani who was paid £315 in 1771 for painting six friezes in chiaro oscuro in the library.³ Much painting was also carried out by a John Wateridge, who was paid over £110 in 1772 for his work in the dining and drawing rooms.⁴ In keeping with Adam's overall scheme, the chimney piece was as important as the ceiling. In October 1763 Adam

1. D/DBy A32/8/1774.

2. D/DBy A27/9/1769.

3. D/DBy A29/12/1771.

4. D/DBy A30/7/1772.

informed his patron that "I have had your favorite chimney-piece for the little drawing room estimated by a very clever young lad, one Tyler in Vigne Street, Golden Square, who I think has been very moderate as he undertakes to execute it, with tables & every ornament, as shown in the design you have for £180, And I think Carters estimate was nearly £260. I am convinced he intends to do it without any view to profit but to gain reputation and to get employment in other things. I promised to let you know and to inform him as soon as I was favoured with your answer".¹ In January 1764 John Francis Moore, a sculptor, and one of the many London craftsmen employed at Audley End, made a Doric column statuary marble chimney piece costing £111 14s. 3d. for the library.² This had been designed by Adam in the previous year.³ Moore was still busy in 1770 working on a chimney piece for the drawing room,⁴ and also engaged during these years were two polishers, who worked 207³/₄ days between them, mainly polishing the various chimney pieces.⁵ Of this work, a modern scholar has written that "those who prefer a new creation to the conscious imitation of the old may well feel that these are the most pleasing rooms in the house".⁶

The historian of the Greek Revival, referred to above, has argued that Neo-Classicism cannot be entirely separated from Romanticism. In one sense this is borne out at Audley End in the creation of the domestic

1. D/DBy C30.

2. D/DBy A248.

3. See above

4. D/DBy A28/3/1770.

5. D/DBy A259, p.39.

6. Sir N. Pevsner, 'Good King James's Gothic, 'Arch.Rev., (1950), 120.

chapel in 'Strawberry Hill' gothic, a style described as a Romantic interpretation of Gothic architecture.¹ The chapel was designed in 1768 by John Hobcraft, carpenter and builder of Titchfield Street, London, whose bill, which included some other work, amounted to over £172.² Plastering work was carried out by Rose who was paid £170.³ By July 1772, Peckitt's windows, from drawings by Rebecca, one of the Last Supper, and one of the Eastern Magi, were in place. William Peckitt, glass painter and stainer of York, also worked at Strawberry Hill. His status at Audley End was equal to that of the London craftsmen, and he was paid £260 for his work.⁴ This operation is interesting not only because of the style in which it was executed, but also because it was undertaken between the two main phases of restoration.

But if such work was to reflect contemporary taste, other work was to harmonize with the old part of the house, and on this score, it was Griffin's policy to copy and imitate the Audley End of his forebears as best he could. Of the external work "great pains were taken to imitate the old work in form, if not always in exact detail....That is why Audley End still gives the appearance of being an early 17th century mansion, although in fact, almost every part of it now visible dates from the 18th century or later".⁵ Of the interior, Sir Nikolaus Pevsner has commented that what "remains is highly ornamented and very puzzling.

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1. This style was known as 'Strawberry Hill' Gothic from the house bearing that name built by Horace Walpole, who popularised the style.
 2. D/DBy A30/11/1772.
 3. D/DBy A29/6/1771.
 4. D/DBy A30/10/1770.
 5. Ministry of Public Building and Works official Guide-Book, Audley End Essex (1963), 12.

Quite obviously the Neo-Jacobean taste lived on. Jacobean plaster works were copied in the 1760s and the early 19th century".¹ And again Dr. Pevsner has written that "...about 1785 many of the ceilings received patterns of thin ribs and pendants".²

Griffin's approach to the second wave of restorative work was most certainly characterised by a markedly conservative piety, and as with the 3rd Lord Darnley, it might accurately be reflected that, as in so many other aspects of his stewardship, his "audience was his dead forebears; he played to please them and spoke in a language which they would understand".³ In part, Professor Pevsner's comments above, referred to the saloon, which was transformed in 1785 under the direction of John Pither of Painton Street, London. His bill for painting and gilding this apartment amounted to £223.⁴ A tablet installed by Griffin in this apartment informs us that he "among other additions refitted the ceiling excepted this saloon to commemorate the noble families through whom with gratitude he holds these possessions".⁵ Similar work continued until 1788, when the same craftsman was paid over £460 for the state bedroom and dressing room, the principal staircase, north parlour, the library, Lord Howard's and Lady Howard's bedrooms and dressing rooms, passages and closets. It has already been mentioned that Joseph Rose was paid over £320 in 1785 for plastering work carried out at this time, much of

1. Sir N. Pevsner, Buildings of England: Essex (1954), 59.

2. Pevsner, 'Good King James's Gothic', op.cit., p.120.

3. Wingfield-Stratford, op.cit. 278.

4. D/DBY A44/3/1786.

5. These words can still be seen on the tablet in the saloon at Audley End: part of this quotation appears in Part I, chapter 1.

which was the conscious and careful imitation of the original. So successful was this work of emulating an earlier style, that even experts find difficulty in distinguishing between the original and Neo-Jacobean style, so that in the main the house "remains a handsome example of Jacobean work".¹

But comfort as well as elegance was a major consideration, and was achieved mainly through the choice of furniture. The eighteenth century dilettante attached as much importance to furnishing as to rebuilding his house. Adam's furniture designs are as well known as architectural achievements. By the second half of the Georgian century designs had become more delicate and there were more pieces, resulting in less formal arrangement. This was the period which saw the closest harmony between the architect and the furniture maker, and marked the zenith of English taste and workmanship. Griffin was fortunate in his generation, and took full advantage of it, spending no less than £12,499 between 1766-1794, and a projected total of £13,434 between 1766 and 1797.²

The pieces de resistance came from London. The first major purchase, from Paul Saunders, took place between February 1765 and June 1772, when over £158 was expended³. In 1771-1772, the firm of Gordon and Taitt, cabinet makers and upholsterers, of Swallow Street, supplied articles of furniture worth £695 11s. 3d.⁴ These pieces were despatched from Bishops-

1. Royal commission on Historical Monuments, North West Essex (1916), 236.

2. D/DBy A196-226: this includes plate, china and stoneware. See appendix 14.

3. D/DBy A30/6/1772.

4. D/DBy A31/3/1773. See also E.T. Joy, 'Furniture' in The Connoisseur's Complete Period Guides to the Houses, Decoration, Furnishing and Chattels of the Classic Periods (1968) eds. R. Edwards & L.G.G. Ramsey, 819-836.

gate and were conveyed by road to the house where they fitted into the newly designed Adam suite. On another occasion, 1782, the same firm sent the articles from the 'Blue Boar' at Whitechapel by the Walden coach. Among the more important items were twelve cabriole elbow chairs richly carved and gilt in burnished gold costing £50 8s., and two large cabriole sofas to match, with two bolsters and two pillows costing £27 6s.¹ Another firm to supply furniture was that of Chipchase and Lambert, of Warwick Street, Golden Square. The state bed that they made for Griffin cost almost £400.²

Accessories like carpets and tapestries were other important items. In January 1779 36½ yards of "Real Wilton carpet made to fit antea room compleat" and 63 yards of similar carpeting for one of the dressing rooms were purchased from the firm of Ravold and Morland.³ On one occasion, Thomas Moore, one of the three principal carpet makers of the period, who collaborated with Adam, supplied items costing over £207, which included 113½ yards of "fine carpet to plan for library".⁴ On another occasion, Paul Saunders supplied 58 ells of "fine tapestry in two pieces work'd to your own designs"⁵, and similar articles purchased from King and Company, of King Street, Covent Garden, amounted to £241 9s. 1d. in 1772⁶ and to £272 7s. 3d. in 1787.⁷

1. D/DBy A41/3/1783.

2. D/DBy A45/3/1787.

3. D/DBy A37/4/1779.

4. D/DBy A45/1/1787.

5. D/DBy A30/6/1772.

6. D/DBy A30/7/1772.

7. D/DBy A45/8/1787.

But no great house like Audley End would be complete without a collection of objets d'art for display. Many reasons contributed to the eighteenth century aristocrat's interest in art, but perhaps the most compelling was the urge to adorn his capital mansion. In this response to growing patronage, "the plant of British painting which had long been slowly maturing suddenly ripened into flower".¹ This was the period in which the Royal Academy was founded (1768) and was in many ways the golden age of English painting. As many of the principal artists worked for a clearly defined and restricted market, their paintings often reflect the taste of their aristocratic patrons. Believing that every item should be part of a design, paintings too fitted into this all embracing scheme. Adam's designs included stucco panels on the walls to enclose paintings so that the frames of these should not clash with his schemes. The size of the rooms in the houses of the well-to-do encouraged the fashion for decorating walls with large paintings. Usually, the great portraits were designed for the salon, the fancy pieces for the boudoir, and the historical pieces for the gallery. Griffin's collection contained representative paintings of all these kinds.

Having called in some of the best craftsmen to restore the house, he then commissioned some of the leading artists to paint a number of portraits of his forbears. Rebecca was one artist entrusted with this task. He made copies of portraits of Thomas Audley, Margaret, Duchess of Norfolk, Thomas, fourth Duke of Norfolk, Thomas Howard, first Earl of Suffolk, the Honourable Mrs. Whitwell and Griffin himself, costing in all £100 16s.² Other work done at the same time included two half-length

1. E.K. Waterhouse, Painting in Britain, 1530-1790 (1953), 164.

2. D/DBy A32/2/1774.

portraits of Lady Essex Griffin and Lady Portsmouth. Benjamin West painted portraits of Griffin and both his wives costing £147 and these were hung in the Adam library.¹ Other paintings were acquired from Dingley Hall, the family seat of the first Lord Griffin who had married Lady Essex Howard, and through which marriage, Sir John himself had ultimately come to Audley End.² Yet other portraits, like one of the first Earl of Portsmouth were acquired as a result of marriage.³ Another of Griffin's interests was the commissioning of paintings of the house itself, and William Tomkins was paid £131 for six views of the house,⁴ and in the same year, 1788, a further £73 10s. was paid for similar landscapes, including one entitled "Large View from Temple".⁵ In view of his sentiments towards the royal family and also of the favour he enjoyed, it is not surprising that his collection should include paintings of royalty, past and present, as it were. Rebecca made copies of Henry VIII and Elizabeth I.⁶ A portrait of George II was painted by Pine and cost £52 10s.,⁷ and one of George III after the Gainsborough original at Windsor was painted by William Hannemann: it was exhibited in the Royal Academy in 1781 and cost Griffin thirty guineas.⁸ Fine paintings called for frames made by experts, and among those who supplied

1. D/DBy A30/3/1772.

2. R.J.B. Walker, Audley End, Essex, Catalogue of the Pictures in the State Rooms, (1954).

3. D/DBy A37/2/1779.

4. D/DBy A46/9/1788; A46/11/1788; A46/12/1788.

5. D/DBy A47/10/1789.

6. The Henry VIII portrait was attributed to Joos van Cleve, and the Elizabeth I was based on the 'Rainbow' portrait at Hatfield: see Walker, op.cit., 10.

7. Ibid, V; also D/DBy A43/4/1785.

8. D/DBy A44/8/1786.

frames for Griffin were Robert Amsell, carver, gilder and framemaker of Cavendish Square,¹ a Mr. Nelson of Golden Square,² and a Mr. Hudson made a "rich picture frame 4ins. broad to a pattern gilt in burnish gold wood and complete for the View of Audley End House measured 17ft. at 6/6 per as agreement £5 10s. 6d."³

Collecting antique sculpture became a passion in the eighteenth century. Original fragments and copies of them were eagerly sought; Griffin was no exception to the prevailing fashion. Over the years he made numerous purchases. In 1772 Eleanor Coade⁴ supplied a group of figures in artificial stone costing sixteen guineas,⁵ and in 1783 a pedestal and tripod for thirty guineas.⁶ A square pedestal was acquired at an Adam sale for £99 15s.,⁷ and one John Bearcock supplied a statue of "Bacchus in Composition" for £21.⁸ A bust of Mrs. Siddons came from Locatelli for six guineas,⁹ and a Wedgwood ornamental vase for £21.¹⁰

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1. D/DBy A38/2/1780.
 2. D/DBy A47/5/1789; See E. Halfpenny 'Music and Musical Instruments' in Connoisseur's Period Guide, 989-998.
 3. Ibid.
 4. The invention of Coade stone in 1769 placed moulded sculpture within the reach of a wide public and it found its way into the houses and gardens of the propertied groups. See H. Honour, 'Painting and Sculpture', in Connoisseur's Period Guide, 837-850.
 5. D/DBy A30/2/1772.
 6. D/DBy A41/5/1783.
 7. D/DBy A31/11/1773.
 8. D/DBy A38/10/1780.
 9. D/DBy A42/1/1784.
 10. D/DBy A44/11/1786.

Equally de rigueur for the nobleman was the collection of books,¹ and although motives for doing so varied, most noblemen liked to see them clothed in half or full morocco. As with books, so, too, with musical instruments, it was normally expected that a great house should have its music gallery, and the presence of a fine organ or modern harpsichord added to the beauty of the house and was looked upon as a further means of adornment. Not only was there an organ at Audley End, but Sefferin Nelson, one of the leading carvers and gilders of the period, was called in to employ his skill in ornamenting the organ case according to the prevailing Gothic style,² and a Joseph Merlin to make a "new invented harpsichord called an Assone, to be enclosed in an oblong mahogany case, empanelled & ornamented, having one row of keys full compass, with six stops, two pedals, a double bass all through, producing an imitation of various other instruments."³

All in all, therefore, Griffin had spared neither pains nor expense in trying to ensure that the renovated interior of his house was worthy of its ambitious external reconstruction and fit to stand comparison with the homes of his aristocratic contemporaries. Employing skilled craftsmen and plumping for the best and most elegant materials, he had successfully tempered ostentation with good taste and luxury with dignity.

Even so, the nobleman's ambitions for his country seat did not usually confine themselves to the house, comprehensive though such schemes might be. By the third decade of the century, it was becoming increasingly clear that a revolution in garden design, constituting a reversal in taste unprecedented

1. See Part III.

2. D/DBy A47/5/1789.

3. D/DBy A33/5/1775.

in the history of gardening, was taking place. The concept was born that as Nature was a garden, Nature might be made to emulate Art, rather than Art Nature. Hitherto the garden had been looked upon as an outdoor extension of the house and was therefore an architectural feature: now, the problem was to be viewed from the other end and Nature was to be "idealised" up to the very walls of the mansion. Artificial boundaries were removed, and garden and park outside the sunken fence were to be harmonised with the lawn within. Instead of the garden harmonising with the house it was now made to harmonise with the whole surrounding view. This new form of landscape garden was characterised by such features as simple plantations of trees and unbroken swards of grass. Trees were planted on hill tops to give an added appearance of height, and valleys were kept free to accentuate their depth. Monuments were placed in commanding positions, and a temple was often sited in a grove to add an essential contrast to the natural prospect. According to contemporary belief, Nature abhorred a straight line, and consequently parks and streams were planned so as not to give offence.

What Adam did for the house, Lancelot Brown did for the environs at Audley End. In his concepts Brown followed the lead given by William Kent, and by 1756 his biographer considers that he had reached the peak of his professional career.¹ He was rarely called upon to work upon virgin land and was usually an improver rather than an initial creator. Hitherto, the gardens at Audley End had been formal in character,² and in April 1763 Brown was called in to wipe out these outdoor extensions of the

1. Dorothy Stroud, Capability Brown (1951). See also E. Highams, Capability Brown and Humphrey Repton, (1971), 48.

2. E.R.O. T/B 125/1 (no.37); E.R.O. T/M 172, copy of the original in P.R.O., M.P.E.366.

house and landscape the whole according to the prevailing taste. Although Brown sometimes¹ prepared for his clients large-scale plans of their estates, showing the proposed alterations, Miss Stroud has shown that few of these working plans have survived, and Audley End is not among them. However, a schedule of the main features of his projected work has been preserved. It listed seven main items including such features as altering the course of the river, laying out the park and making a sunken fence - the ha-ha - considered by some writers as "probably the most important single innovation in the whole history of gardens".² Griffin was to find the trees and shrubs, carts and wheelbarrows, and four able horses and harnesses. Brown promised to complete the work by May 1764 for a total payment of £660 in two instalments of £200 each in June and September 1763, with the balance on completion.³ But he failed to do so. The result was a serious disagreement between patron and landscape gardener which terminated Brown's involvement in the schemes, without apparently interfering with Griffin's plans in the long run. One Joseph Hicks was employed from 1774-1797 to supervise the very comprehensive landscape work that was to take place. The extent of such work is evidenced by the fact that although Brown was paid in all £800 between 1763-1768,⁴ Hicks and his men received about £4,000 for work carried out between 1774 and 1781.⁵ Thus, although it was "Capability"

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1. For example, Brown's plans for the Vanneck family are displayed in the Yellow Dressing Room at Heveningham Hall.
 2. J. Steegman, The Rule of Taste, From George I to George IV (1936), 56.
 3. D/DBy A365/1-11.
 4. D/DBy A365/1-11.
 5. This figure has been reached by totalling the numerous accounts for these years. Miss Dorothy Stroud assures me that Hicks's name does not appear among the better known eighteenth century landscape gardeners. A family bearing that name is recorded in the Saffron Walden parish register for 1749-1812. An Elizabeth Hicks assisted in the Audley End house laundry, see D/DBy A41/4/1783.

Brown who laid down the major lines of the project, it was Hicks who supervised its completion. The park was laid out, the lawn was levelled, drains laid,¹ seeds sowed and then rolled, various slopes were trimmed and finished off. Roads were levelled, widened and gravelled. The work on the river was completed and both of its banks levelled. Old ponds were filled in, as were drains and ditches; others were deepened according to the particular scheme afoot. Trees and shrubs were planted. Some of the hardwoods usually found in Brown's plantations were acquired - larches², scotch firs³, lime, laurels,⁴ poplars⁵ and alders.⁶ This aspect of the work was executed by men who could not hope to see the full fruits of their labours.

So far we have been concerned with the transformation of formal garden into landscape garden: "to make it appear that the house was planted slap down in its park, the grass coming up to the walls on all four sides".⁷ But the general effect achieved was not all that mattered, for "garden ornament is a secondary part of the art of gardening".⁸ That Griffin had it in mind to erect "garden ornaments" from the start is

1. Eleven fen men from Ely were employed by Griffin to drain his park. They retired one evening to an inn called 'The Hoops' where it was estimated that between them they consumed 517½ pints of beer in three hours. It was further estimated that the barmaid walked twelve miles in serving them! E.R.O. T/B 171/3 Feb.10, 1775.

2. D/DBy A25/12/1767.

3. D/DBy A26/6/1768.

4. D/DBy A30/7/1772.

5. D/DBy A31/3/1773.

6. D/DBy A33/6/1775: for example, 6,407 trees were planted between 1786-1790 alone: D/DBy E44.

7. C. Hussey, The Picturesque, Studies in a Point of View (1927), 142.

8. Gertrude Jeckyll and C. Hussey, Garden Ornament (1927), IX.

evidenced by plans drawn up by Adam in 1763.¹ He designed a bridge in June 1763 for twelve guineas, and Griffin's intention to erect a bridge across the river Cam, to carry the London to Walden road, is also made clear from Brown's schemes of that year:

To make the new Road at both ends of the Bridge — raising it to a proper height, as also to fill up the old Course of the River below the old Bridge which was damaged by the Floods.²

Although the bridge was to serve the public, the artistic impulse must have been as strong as the utilitarian advantages gained, and such bridges were sometimes erected merely to add beauty to the vista. The craftsmen mainly connected with its erection were Loadman the stonemason and Ward the bricklayer, and this project, as in others, clearly demonstrates "a fusion of local with London talent".³

Adam also designed a circular Grecian temple for Griffin. This was erected to commemorate British victories in the Seven Years' War, and no doubt, Sir John's own contribution towards final victory.⁴ The site chosen was a hill, called the Warren Ring to the west of the house, beyond the river Cam and London road, a position which enabled it to be seen, as with the Adam bridge, from the principal rooms in the west front of the mansion. Designed by Adam, the stone was procured by William and Robert West,⁵ stonemasons from nearby Wendens Ambo; stone capitals from Portland were supplied and worked by John Devall,⁶ plastering was carried out by

1. D/DBy A365/12.

2. Ibid, A365/1: see also Part IV.

3. Plumb (ed.), Studies in Social History, p.151.

4. D/DBy A365/15:

5. D/DBy A29/5/1771.

6. D/DBy A30/7/1772: Devall submitted this account for working in Portland stone antique Ionic capitals for the temple, and was paid £48 8s.

Rose's men,¹ carving by Robert Adair,² painting by Wateridge,³ and finally furniture was made by John Hobcraft.⁴

As this temple had neared completion work had already begun on another project. In March 1774 Hicks and his men dug the foundations of the "Cullum", 20 feet square and five feet deep.⁵ This term, column, generally used by the workmen, refers to the obelisk erected on a hill north of the house, in memory of the Countess of Portsmouth. Again it was Adam who was responsible for the design, made in August 1763 and for this "monumental Building" he charged ten guineas.⁶ Considerable quantities of Portland⁷ stone along with Burwell and Eversden lime were used,⁸ and the finishing touches in the form of an inscription tablet and vase, were added in 1774 by Joseph Dixon, who presented his account for a "fine new statuary marble inscription tablet for pedestal to column with 91 letters cut in do. and polishi'd compleat and a large Portland stone vase - stone and workmanship compleat".⁹

Perhaps one feature not strictly within the conventions of the landscape school was the creation of what were known as the Elysian gardens. These were situated to the north of Brown's lawn and the house. Considerable sums of money were expended in purchasing flowers, shrubs and

1. D/DBy A31/7/1773; A31/8/1773; A32/12/1774.

2. D/DBy A32/5/1774.

3. D/DBy A33/3/1775.

4. D/DBy A34/3/1776: some of this furniture can be seen at the house today.

5. D/DBy A32/6/1774.

6. D/DBy A365/12.

7. D/DBy A32/4/1774.

8. D/DBy A32/9/1774.

9. D/DBy A32/12/1774

exotic plants¹ and equally a large labour force was employed. To add to the beauty and charm of these gardens Griffin converted the ancient mill dam which had belonged to the old Abbey into a rustic cascade near the place where the Cam entered the gardens. This work was carried out in 1782² and proved most effective according to a contemporary newspaper:

The Water calls itself two miles long - 60 feet wide, and from 4 to twelve feet deep - it has a 6 feet fall, which well flung about in a cascade, with flowers scenting all round it - the bridge and Ionic Colonnade and church to see - the music in an evening to hear - make up the charm of the place; and so, fabling when we should feel, they call it Eysium.

3

At the same time, 1782-83, Griffin had erected the Palladian bridge and tea-house. After the Cam passed over the cascade it flowed through the Elysian gardens and continued under the bridge and past tea-house. Designed by Adam in 1782⁴, the major part of the work was undertaken by John Hobcraft⁵ and John Devall.⁶ In 1783 Messrs. West were paid £9. 17s. 3³/₄d. for building a stone gateway into these new pleasure grounds.⁷ In 1786, two years after his elevation to the peerage, the main entrance gateway was restored. It was surmounted by a noble lion, the crest of the Howard family, and was supplied by Eleanor Coade for forty five guineas.⁸

1. D/DBy A37/5/1779; A37/8/1779.

2. D/DBy A40/3/1782; A40/9/1782.

3. D/DBy E33.

4. D/DBy A41/6/1783.

5. Ibid.

6. D/DBy A41/10/1783.

7. D/DBy A41/5/1783: it is difficult to tell whether this work was connected with Adam's design for a ruined gate, drawn up in May 1778. See D/DBy A365/16.

8. D/DBy A44/11/1786.

The last major "ornament" to adorn the environs was a second temple. This Temple of Concord was designed by Robert Furze Brettingham¹ and was built on a hill to the east of the house. It was prompted by George III's return to good health. Work seems to have started in 1790: Portland,² Burwell³ and Ketton⁴ stones were used, and twenty artificial stone capitals were carefully packed and brought to the scene of activity.⁵ The preparation of the ground by labourers had been supervised by Joseph Hicks⁶ and the foundations dug by Ward and his labourers.⁷ The chief mason was John Devall,⁸ who was paid £300, and Joseph Rose⁹ undertook the plastering, while Dominique Jean¹⁰ spent seven days at Audley End in December 1790 carving fifteen large letters, sixty nine "middling ones" and forty four small ones. Gilding work was executed by Sefferin Nelson,¹¹ and Eleanor Coade¹² supplied further artificial stone. Open on all sides, the roof is supported by twenty Corinthian pillars, with a panelled ceiling and friezes, decorated with groups of figures in bold relief.

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1. D/DBy A49/11/1791.
 2. D/DBy A48/8/1790.
 3. D/DBy A48/5/1790.
 4. D/DBy A48/6/1790.
 5. D/DBy A48/11/1790.
 6. D/DBy A48/5/1790.
 7. D/DBy A48/9/1790.
 8. D/DBy A49/5/1791.
 9. D/DBy A49/1/1791.
 10. Ibid.
 11. D/DBy A49/11/1791.
 12. Ibid.

Thus in the course of his stewardship, Griffin transformed the environs of his restored and embellished country seat. An account of 1845¹ describes the "internal grandeur and external beauties, replete with all the varieties of hill and vale, wood and water, are rarely to be combined in such limits...Its palatial character, with its trees and gardens, is there very imposing and resting in quiet splendour amidst such agreeable scenery, it cannot fail to awaken admiration". The passage of time has not altered this verdict. For even today, most of the features created by the eighteenth century landscape school can still be seen.² The house surrounded by the park and unbroken lawn, the horse-shoe driveway, the serpentine Cam in the middle distance, the gently rolling hills to the west, north and east, the belts and clumps of trees, the two temples, to the east and west, the obelisk to the north, the Adam bridge, Palladian bridge and tea-house, the ha-ha, cascade and lion gateway, are all there to add beauty to the place, and to prove, if proof be necessary, of the immensity of the work undertaken by Griffin. Although delegatory, it is clear that he kept a close watch on these developments in his park and grounds, for when in 1793 the Earl of Bristol³ asked him to recommend an improver to beautify his own grounds, he replied⁴ that "with a good Superintendant & capable Foreman, I believe he will always find his work best done, at least best done to his own Taste & Satisfaction - is what I have myself done".⁵

1. Player, Sketches of Saffron Walden, 88-9.

2. See also an aerial photograph taken by Dr.J.K. St. Joseph of the Institute of Aerial Photography, Cambridge, a copy of which is in the E.R.O.

3. See Part IV.

4. D/DBy E19 (E); 1793.

5. See illustration 7.

(2) Town House.

But as well as being able to support a country mansion and its accompanying establishment, the nobleman also needed to be able to maintain a metropolitan life, which was yet another of the distinguishing features of the upper reaches of the ruling group. Participation in the London season and a seat in Parliament combined to make a Town house essential. For not only was London the seat of government, but it was "above all a metropolis of mercantilism".¹ and was to become in the course of the Georgian period the "clearing house for all styles and fashions in the kindred arts".² In short, by "1760 the London of George III is eager to expand, to transform itself into the great Imperial Capital which it is qualifying to become".³ But perhaps above all in the eighteenth century London was the place where friendships were formed and contacts made, and in this social sense, to be out of London was to be out of the fashionable world.

Griffin's first London house was in Brook Street,⁴ but in 1762 he inherited a house in New Burlington Street, in the parish of St. James, Westminster. The site had been part of a field - Ten Acre field or Close - behind Burlington House, and was the last street to be built on the estate, c1735-39.⁵ This street was named after the third Lord bearing the name, and an adjacent street, Savile Street, was named after

1. Summerson, Georgian London 9-10.

2. Sir A.E. Richardson, An Introduction to Georgian Architecture (1948), 23.

3. Summerson, op.cit., 5.

4. D/DBY A11: see Part III.

5. Survey of London: The Parish of St. James Westminster North of Piccadilly, F.H.W. Sheppard (ed.), v. XXXII, part ii, (1963), 490.

the patron's wife, Lady Dorothy Savile. There was a marked degree of uniformity in the brick external appearance of New Burlington Street and externally it corresponded with the slightly earlier Savile Street, mainly as a result of control by Lord Burlington. The first occupier had been Lady Portsmouth's first husband, Henry Grey of Billingbear, Berkshire. From the time of his death in 1740 to 1762 it was occupied by Lady Portsmouth and her second husband, John Wallop, the first Earl. Her will shows that the house passed to the Earl on her death in 1762, but on his own death in the same year it passed to her nephew, Griffin,¹ He used the house until his death in 1797 and his widow until 1803, after which time it was occupied in turn by the Lords Braybrooke until 1861.² It would seem that as far as Griffin was concerned the house was numbered 21, but due to its corner position at the intersection of New Burlington Street and Savile Street, the main front was on the Burlington side (92 feet) and the other front on Savile Street (35 feet). As with the other main streets on the estate, New Burlington, too, "was intended for residential occupation by people of substance",³ and indeed, during this period the street was the home of a number of persons who had made their mark in public life or in performing some service to their country.⁴ As the new proprietor of one of the largest houses in the country, and as a soldier of some distinction, Griffin might well have considered himself to be suitably situated in a fashionable part of the capital.

1. D/DBy C2/7.

2. Survey of London, op.cit., 568.

3. Ibid, 490: it is also stated in this volume that for number 21, read 10, p.555. The house stood on an unusually deep, narrow plot: the eastern end of the house was treated as a slightly shallower office wing, so that the main block was left with a more proportionate frontage of about 60 feet. On the Savile side there were three windows to each storey, and on the Burlington side there were eight, five of which being in the main block: ibid, pp.493-5.

4. Ibid, 568.

"The town houses or palaces of the magnates were objects of great luxury and magnificence, and at least from the second half of the eighteenth century onwards their building, embellishment and furnishing was one of the principal fields for the consumption and investment which was such a powerful stimulus to aristocratic expenditure".¹ If Griffin's ambitions for Audley End were partly generated by his desire to regain the lost dignities of his forbears, it might well be that his schemes for his Town house were mainly due to his desire to be at one with his peers. Between 1765 and 1794, a total of £7,513 7s. 5³/₄d. was spent on his Burlington Street house and on the stables² that he rented: this figure includes rates, taxes³ and rents⁴, as well as rebuilding and embellishing. By computing the missing two years in the household volumes in which these details were recorded, and by adding the five months of 1797, a projected total would be about £8,157, exclusive of furniture.⁵

Some repair work is recorded from the very first year of the keeping of these accounts and indeed continues as at Audley End for all the years although varying considerably in degree. Over the period as a whole, annual payments rose from £120 11s. 7d.⁶ to £1,743 14s. 9d. in 1779.⁷ Between 1765-1794, this averaged at £250 per year. But as at his country

1. Thompson, op.cit., p.104.

2. In 1765 Griffin used¹ the stables previously occupied by his uncle, Lord Portsmouth's, horses and carriages: in that year he paid a Mr. Blagrove £40 per annum rent: D/DBY A196.

3. In 1765 among the taxes and rates paid were the following:

one year's poor rate and scavenger	- £9. 7s. 6d.;
watering the street in the summer	- £1. 1s. 0d.;
one year's rent for Chelsea water	- £2. 0s. 0d.;
one year's watch and beadle rate	- £2. 3s. 9d.;
one year's window tax	- £4. 19s. 0d.;
one year's land tax	- £18. 15s. 10d.;
one year's chapel pew rent	- £7. 0s. 0d.;
cash given at Easter offering	- £2. 2s. 0d.;
one year's rent for new river water	- £3. 0s. 0d.;
one year's tax on Burlington Street House	- £18. 14s. 0d.;

See D/DBY A196.

4. In 1765 ground rent on Burlington Street for one year was at £16. 7s. 3d.; see D/DBY A196. It was at the same level in 1794, see D/DBY A225. See also appendix 15.

5. D/DBY A196-226: these volumes will be discussed in Part III.

6. D/DBY A205.

7. D/DBY A210.

house, so too, in London, the main rebuilding and embellishing work was concentrated in two phases. The first seems to have taken place between 1769-1771, but mainly in 1771, and as such followed the first wave of restoration at Audley End. The second was in 1778-1779, but mainly in 1779, and as such preceded the second wave at Audley End. Not surprisingly, many of the craftsmen worked at both houses, and some were engaged in both main phases of the work.

In 1769 the accounts show that £260 18s. 8d.¹ was spent and this included payments to a number of craftsmen. For example, in April the house painter received £24 4s; in May, Hobcraft was paid £58 5s. for carpentry and joinery, Devall £10 16s. for stonemason's work and Joseph Rose £11 13s. 6d. for plastering; in December, Morris, the house-painter received a further £37 and Hobcraft £14 4s. and a further £12 16s. od. for drawing plans, elevations and sections.² The annual payment for 1770 dropped to £126 15s. 8d.,³ but in 1771 had risen to £592 19s. 11d., the second highest for the entire period.⁴ The extent of the work being undertaken at this time is partly evidenced by the payment of one James Brandwood, who among other tasks spent three months in "care of London House while repairing".⁵ This "repairing" work had been carefully estimated beforehand and the figure arrived at was £508 1s. 11d.⁶ The comprehensive nature of the work to be undertaken is at once apparent.

1. D/DBy A200.

2. Ibid.

3. D/DBy A201.

4. D/DBy A202.

5. Ibid.

6. The following discussion is based on D/DBy A202 and A29/6/1771.

Roof work amounted to £171 3s.; the garrets to £29 9s. 6d.; two pair of stairs £39 11s. 9d.; the back stairs £5 17s. 7d.; the great staircase £39 7s. 6d.; a bedroom and another room to £13 7s. 9d.; the roof and rooms over the kitchen to £16 10s. 9d.; the "Back Front" to £33 12s.; and the "Fore Front" to £42 10s. 6d. That much of this work did take place is borne out by the payment in June 1771 of £478, although it is also clear that some saving had been effected as this receipt mentions an estimate of £446 4s. The difference in amounts is explained by the fact that 10s. 6d. was paid for extra work in the yard, larder, kitchen, scullery and butler's pantry, as well as £21 10s. for contingencies, making a total of £478. This work was carried out under the aegis of Robert Taylor,¹ who - it was said - shared the architectural profession with James Paine until the arrival of Robert Adam. However, the exact nature and extent of his contribution is not clear, apart from the fact that he received commission for his participation. The principal craftsmen engaged in this first wave were Edward Chinner, John Mallcott, the partnership of Morris and Rhodes, Joseph Rose and Edward Gray. The last named signed with the proviso that whereas Griffin had paid the bill "without examining the Work to be done by the Estimate, I promise on demand to do whatever Work has been omitted by me, agreeable to the Estimate and in a workmanlike manner". The absence of plans and detailed schemes makes it difficult to be precise about the exact nature of the work, other than to comment on the repair and rebuilding aspect and its comprehensiveness.

The second wave was carried out between 1778-79, and it was in the latter year that the peak was reached in annual expenditure when the

f. For Taylor, see H.M. Colvin, Biographical Dictionary of English Architects, 1600-1840 (1954), 601-604.

figure was £1,743 14s. 9½d.¹ The same practice of employing what appears to have been a watchman was followed; for instance, a "Davie" Dean was paid 19s. by Charles Higgins in January 1779 for "nineteen days care of Burlington Street House while the workmen was in it from the 1st. Instant to this night".² The workmen were in fact in the house for at least thirty two weeks as Cosmo Wallace, clerk of the works, was paid one guinea per week from 15 June 1778 to 1 February 1779. This second phase was the work of Adam, who at first was paid £180 17s.³ This consisted of £100 for "Surveying on the Alterations and Repairs done in the Town House, as per agreement"; fifteen guineas for a "finished" drawing of the ceiling of the drawing room; ten guineas for a section of the window side; ten guineas for the section of the door side; five guineas for the chimney end and five guineas for the other end. To this was added the clerk of the works bill of £33 12s. The Adam firm's signature appears on the receipt of payments made to the major craftsmen employed, indicating that the accounts had been examined and passed. From the actual designs⁴ and the details recorded in the building and embellishing accounts,⁵ it is clear that this second wave was more comprehensive than the first and that the style was decidedly Adam.

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1. D/DBy A210 and A37/1-13/1779: A37/13 deals with Hobcraft's accounts.
 2. D/DBy A37/1/1779: there were on the staff a John and Jane Dean, the latter being the London porter, see Part III.
 3. D/DBy A365/16: The Total bill was £196 12s. Od., but this included two designs of a ruined gate for Audley End.
 4. Soane Museum, Adam Drawings vols. 14, nos.40-2; 23, nos. 123-6; 53, no.40.
 5. These will be drawn on below.

The extensive nature of this work is evidenced by the fact that almost all parts of the house received some attention. In the absence of plans for 21 Burlington Street, to gain a picture of the house we have to rely entirely on the building accounts, especially Hobcraft's.¹ His work alone came to £426 5s. 9d. of which over £129 was for day work and over £308 for measured work. These accounts were examined by Adam and on this occasion as on so many others Hobcraft worked in conjunction with Adam, although, as mentioned above he did design himself. From such accounts, then, it is clear that the house consisted of the following features: ground floor, probably three other floors and garrets, plus a great staircase or "best stairs", as well as two other pairs of stairs; there were also the back stairs. Among the rooms mentioned were the kitchen, porter's hall, the main hall, a breakfast parlour, a "middle" parlour, a "back parlour", a dining parlour and great parlour and drawing-room and ante room. It is not clear where all these rooms were situated or whether different workmen used more than one name for one room. Among the other apartments to receive attention were Lady Griffin's bedroom and dressing room, a bedroom on the second floor, garrets and passages; a new skylight was fitted, the different stairs and accompanying landings were repaired, a dormer "going out on roof", on which a padlock was fixed, a closet on the landing of the best stairs, the servants' privy and the servants hall. Bearing in mind that other bedrooms, rooms over the kitchen, larder, scullery and butler's pantry as well as a yard were mentioned in the first wave of rebuilding work, then it is clear that Griffin's London house was an establishment of some size.

1. D/DBY A37/13/1779: none of the rooms mentioned by Hobcraft could be located from a plan of 1906: see Survey of London, op.cit., pp.493-5.

Among the craftsmen employed were the following. In March 1779 a glazier named Graham was paid £11; Adam's firm submitted an account of £80 for "Composition work to Doorway"; a Mr. Fiddler was paid £50 for smith's work; Adair was again present and for carving and gilding was paid £21 and Rose, another of Adam's collaborators received £100 for plastering work; and John Devall, whom we have also met working to Adam's schemes, was paid £100 for stonemason's work. Some painting under Wateridge had commenced in July 1778 and for his work in a bedroom, a dressing room, the drawing room, breakfast parlour and another small bedroom he was paid £31 16s. 6d. Rebecca might also have been employed as an ante-room and drawing room were painted by him at this time, although the Town house is not specifically mentioned in the receipt.

Among the workmen employed and paid in April was Joseph Rose for further plastering work amounting to over £134; altogether for work during this time he was paid over £239 and his efforts were concentrated in the drawing room, ante room, dressing room, staircase, servants' hall, back staircase, main hall and garrets. His account mentions honey suckles, Ionic and Doric capitals to the pilasters, friezes in stucco. Wateridge who was paid over £53 worked among other places in the drawing and dressing rooms, and this included painting ornamented ceilings in oil, painting cornices, friezes and door friezes, and among the colours used were white, green, light green, purple and french grey. Carving was carried out by William Robert Adair, and he received over £41 for work in the drawing room, Lady Griffin's dressing room and the ante room. The firm of Underwood and Company was paid over £20 for work on the sky-light and fan light over the front door. A considerable amount of smith's work and plumbing came to over £94 and over £22 respectively, and the bricklayer was paid over £51.

When Devall's account was settled in October 1779 it revealed that he was paid in all over £278 and his stonemason's work included his attention in the hall and on the stairs, the ante room, drawing room, back parlour, back staircase as well as on the front door's pillasters. Among the stones used were Bremen paving, new Yorkshire paving, new Purbeck step and Portland stone. In the same month another of Adam's accounts was settled. On this occasion for work executed in Liardet's stucco, which amounted in all to over £144. This included a frontispiece in accordance with the estimate amounting to over £118; two lions modelled and cast in liardet not included in the estimate cost £25 4s. and among other items was liardet to the front of the "sunk storey" below the frontispiece. Of the total paid, Higgins had already made payment of £80 for this composition work in March and it was the difference that was actually paid in October. All in all Adam received over £288 for his participation at Burlington Street during this second phase of work.

Rebuilt and embellished in accordance with contemporary taste, it was natural that Griffin should want to complete his schemes with appropriate furnishings. There are no separate entries for the purchase of furniture for the Town house between 1765 and 1768, but from 1769 to 1794 a total of £2,095 7s. 10d. was spent on furniture and fittings, and a projection for the two missing years would give a figure of £2,255.¹ Annual sums varied from as little as £5 15s. 7d. in 1774² to as much as £425 10s. 6d. in 1779.³ As with Audley End, so too at Burlington Street, in inheriting the house, Griffin also came into possession of his aunt's furniture, and these accounts therefore record additional pieces purchased.

1. D/DBy A196-225: there are no entries for the first five months of 1797: See appendix 16.

2. D/DBy A205.

3. D/DBy A210.

The most spent in a single year coincides, understandably, with the main phase of the restoration and embellishing work, namely 1779. However, although it is possible to be precise about the amounts spent on furnishings each year, the accounts do not usually specify whether a particular piece was intended for the London house, as a larger sum was expended on procuring furniture for the country house. But in view of the work that took place at his Town house, and because of the precise documentation of some of that work in terms of specific parts of the house, it would seem safe to conclude that the firm of Ravold and Morland, for instance, in supplying a "Real Wilton carpet to fit the ante room compleat", and another with a double border for the dressing room and a further 15½ yards of Wilton stair carpet, had the Town house in mind. This bill amounted to over £64.¹ At the same time the firm of Eyre and Company supplied green and orange striped "Damascus" amounting in all to 256½ yards and costing £28.² On the other hand some of the bills do mention the London house by name. In January 1783 George Romney was paid £42 for a half length portrait of "my Lady",³ and in April of the same year Rebecca was paid £21 for six paintings for the drawing room,⁴ and between May 1781 and May 1783, Solomon Hudson was paid over £107 for carving and gilding work at Burlington Street.⁵ This included carving a large oval Carlomorat picture frame for Lady Griffin's portrait gilt in burnished gold for £16, as well as for work in the drawing room and to making good all the gilding

1. D/DBy A37/4/1779.

2. Ibid.

3. D/DBy A214. (January).

4. Ibid., (April).

5. D/DBy A41/5/1783.

to the chairs and sofas in the drawing room. Griffin continued to adorn and in 1791 among the purchases made were silk for a bed from Messrs. King costing over £94; a bed from Messrs. Lambert for over £25; and carpets from Thomas Moore for over £38.¹ This was in fact the last year in which substantial purchases were made, the annual amount being £219 16s. 11½d.²

Clearly Griffin expended considerable energy in restoring his country seat and Town house. Such accomplishments, visible in his own life time, were noted and recorded by a number of his contemporaries. For instance, by October 1786 Miss Emilia Clayton³ found Audley End house "so much beautified and completed since we were here last it is quite astonishing... I think this house is now the most comfortable, magnificent and elegant one that it is possible to imagine...These grounds, which really are delightful, are vastly improved since we were here". Whereas in a newspaper cutting for 1789⁴ the writer reflected that "Lord Howard quietly contemplates the beauties of Audley End; of the still beauties of Nature few are more deserving of contemplation". In recording Griffin's death in 1797 it was also stated in the Gentleman's Magazine⁵ that the house at Audley End "restored to splendour, and decorated with copies of many family portraits, and other paintings by Rebecca will be a monument to his Lordship's taste".

1. D/DBy A222 (February).

2. Ibid.

3. Lady Llanover (ed.), Autobiography and Correspondence of Mary Grenville, Mrs. Delany (1862), second series, v.iii, 399-400. This letter is from Miss Emilia Clayton, Lady Griffin's half sister, to Miss Port, Mrs. Delany's niece.

4. D/DBy E33.

5. G.M. v.lxvii. (1797), 529-30.

Griffin's "taste", as we have seen, was in one sense, like Adam's style, an "amalgam", in so far as it represented the contemporary scene as well as the original architectural climate in which Audley End had been erected. If Adam's style was a compromise between the Classic and Romantic states of mind, it is no less true to suggest that Griffin's taste represented a compromise between the present and his ancestral past, that is, between the architectural world of George III and the architectural world of James I. From his extensive employment of Adam, at both country and Town houses, it is clear that Griffin held some admiration for the Adam School, and this is also borne out by the employment of those craftsmen who usually collaborated with Adam in the adornment of the interior. To what extent he considered himself a connoisseur, is difficult to determine, but it can be stated that he possessed ideas of his own and that he was not always prepared to be governed by the architect. That some of Adam's designs indicate more than one attempt and that modifications were made, might also suggest that Griffin had a say in such matters. The major work carried out during his occupation of Audley End was carefully documented by some of the leading craftsmen of the day in the "Scrapbook".¹ Such documents imply social aims as well as architectural ambitions. Although Griffin purchased some contemporary and other works on architecture, no letters have survived in which he committed his ideas to paper. Against this, however, it must be pointed out that he was prepared to spend, and to spend heavily. He had an interest in the subject, even if that interest was subservient to the house itself.

Finally, this aspect of his overall stewardship was to make financial demands of at least £96,626. Personal though such ambitions were, their

1. E.R.O. T/B 125.

realisation might well have widespread repercussions. We have already observed this possibility in relation to the immediate neighbourhood,¹ and this "investment activity" with "multiplied effects" collectively created employment on a nation wide basis. Indeed, Professor Thompson has suggested that the "Industrial Revolution" may well have been ushered in by a spate of country and town house building.² As far as Griffin was concerned, before any large scale restoration could take place, an enormous supply of building materials, ranging from stone, timber and bricks, to lesser articles was essential. Various materials from different and distant places were absorbed into the restorative schemes. Although about $1\frac{3}{4}$ million bricks were made on the estate³, some were purchased from outside tradesmen.⁴ But the principal material purchased was stone, and among the many types used by Griffin were Portland,⁵ Purbeck,⁶ Burwell,⁷ Ketton,⁸ and it is clear that in the light of the comprehensive nature of the work in both houses as well as the erection of the many "garden ornaments" in the park, considerable quantities were purchased over the years. Whereas Essex had never been able to supply good building stone by the second half of the eighteenth century it could no

1. See Part 1, chapter 4.

2. Thompson, 'Landownership and economic growth in England in the eighteenth century', 57, in Jones & Wolf (ed.), Agrarian Change and Economic Development.

3. Williams, Audley End, 10: this figure is based on an examination of the relevant account.

4. D/DBY A30/3/1772.

5. D/DBY A29/10/1771.

6. D/DBY A261.

7. D/DBY A29/6/1771.

8. D/DBY A34/3/1776.

longer supply building timber. Very early in the seventeenth century Norden¹ had deplored the scarcity of the three "building trees" - oak, elm and ash, and the scene was even more depressing by Griffin's day. A contemporary writer² remarked that "timber from its scarcity, fetches a great price here". Griffin's many purchases included firs, deals, oaks, ash and Riga from the Baltic states.³ Slates were the other important material purchased, and at different times quantities of Westmorland and Welsh slates were used.⁴ The assembly of materials was, then, a formidable task requiring much forethought and organisation as well as entailing large expenditure of money. Likewise, the demands for the specialised services of different types of workmen and his ambitious restoration plans "combined work of men whose normal occupation was local domestic building with the work of men who contributed to the greatest buildings of the age".⁵ The development of the domestic crafts and trades, especially in London, was on a scale unequalled since the Italian Renaissance. The average British builder was acquainted with all trades and could command specialists in masonry, brickmaking, tiling, slating and plumbing. He knew where to purchase the best marble fireplaces, he could commission the finest joiners and could control a host of trained journeymen. Parallel with this organisation came a brilliant improvement in the quality of British craftsmanship, and one modern scholar has commented that this period

1. J. Norden, The Surveiors Dialogue (1618), p.216.

2. P. Muilman, History of Essex by a Gentleman (MDCCLXX), vol.ii, p.362.

3. D/DBy A29/11/1771.

4. D/DBy A259, p.41.

5. Plumb, Studies in Social History, p.151.

represents "one of the high-water marks of English architectural craftsmanship".¹ From this efflorescence of talent Griffin employed the leading architects and designers of the day; a number of London craftsmen, some of which worked in close conjunction with the leading designers; foreign craftsmen, in his case Italian; surveyors to coordinate some of the work; the lesser craftsmen and the unskilled labour force that was needed.² The period also witnessed the closest harmony between the architect and the furniture maker, and all in all country and town house rebuilding stimulated the building and furnishing industries, and collectively this activity accounts for part of the ruling group's "investment activity" with "multiplier effects". But important though they were, the family houses were not the only physical expressions of the standing of its members.

1. Colvin, op.cit., p.7.

2. For a discussion on this aspect of the restoration work at Audley End, see Williams, op.cit., 17-24.

PART III : THE HOUSEHOLD.

It was their style of living that also distinguished the great landlords from the lesser and this was partly manifested in household expenditure. Of Griffin's total financial output, £105,677 was spent in this department. Supervising the steward and agents who managed estate and household affairs is mentioned by Professor Thompson¹ as one of the landowner and his family's five main activities. That Sir John concerned himself with this aspect is partly evidenced by his comment "from my first commencing Housekeeper":² this referred to 1749 although he did not officially succeed to the house until 1762. This analysis of the economy of a Georgian household will examine the Audley End household as a unit of management, employment and consumption.

(1) Unit of Management.

It is clear that as well as putting the house and estate on a sound footing, Sir John applied himself in like manner to the household. Professor Mingay³ has described how Lord Chesterfield advised the settling of bills: "Keep an account, in a book, of all that you receive and of all that you pay, for no man who knows what he receives and what he pays ever runs out". Under Griffin the accounts consisted of loose bills and

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1. Thompson, English Landed Society, 95. Professor Kelch has shown that the management of the Duke of Newcastle's household was both central and critical, for this area consumed thousands of pounds each year: see Kelch, Newcastle, 202.
 2. D/DBy F46.
 3. Mingay, English Landed Society, 207.

receipts and bound account books. Loose bills were grouped together on an annual basis between 1762 and 1764,¹ but from 1765² they were arranged on a monthly basis. They include some estate and rebuilding bills as well as household, and are best described as general vouchers. A summary of these vouchers dealing with the household were entered in bound account books of white vellum, and for our purposes the series runs from 1765 to 1797.³ In all there are thirty one volumes, as those for 1795 and 1796 are missing.

This more meticulous system was inaugurated by Sir John and managed by his house steward, Charles Higgins. The first volume has written on its cover "Higgins's Account Book 1765",⁴ and apart from the very last volume for our period there is an index for the separate sections. On average there are about twenty sections and these are fairly typical of similar approaches in other comparable households.⁵ But they differ from some other systems in as much as both Audley End and the Town house are included. Some of the staff had their own account or day books and others used separate vouchers which they submitted to the steward at the end of each month.⁶ After being checked by him items were entered in summary form into his account book and an abstract of total disbursements was made. The volume was then submitted to Griffin:

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1. D/DBy A15-17.
 2. D/DBy A23-55: this continued down to 1826.
 3. D/DBy 196-226.
 4. D/DBy A196.
 5. See appendix 17.
 6. Unfortunately these have not survived.

Recd. of my master Sr. John G. Griffin for month of January
 as pr. Genl. Abstract.....182 17s. 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.
 Recd. by me Chas. Higgins.
 Examined and taken up the Vouchers for the month of Janry.
 J.G.Griffin,₁

This practice continued down to a month before Sir John died, the last entry with his signature being in April 1797.² It has been suggested that there was seldom need for such summary statements "in view of the apparently close connection between the owner and his enterprises".³ Methods of accounting varied⁴ and at Audley End the monthly auditing was adhered to throughout the period. This arrangement was made from the angle of purpose so as to make each volume a work of reference as well as a record of current monthly expenditure. This system allowed Sir John to go through the monthly vouchers with his steward, and as well as acting as a check it also enabled him to keep a close watch on household expenditure for the current year, and by calling for the previous year or years volumes he could also make comparisons. Thus he was able to

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1. D/DBy A196: January 1765. There are examples to show that the accounts were checked carefully. For instance in July 1772 a marginal note in red ink states that "These two articles should have been charged in June Account" : D/DBy A203: June 1772.
 2. D/DBy A226: in May 1797 Lady Howard signed and did so until August of that year at which time Griffin Braybrooke took over.
 3. B.S. Yamey, H.C. Edey & H.W. Thomson, Accounting in England and Scotland: 1543-1800 Double Entry in Exposition and Practice (1963), 186: See also, S. Pollard, The Genesis of Modern Management. A Study of the Industrial Revolution in Great Britain (1965), 215-219.
 4. At Wentworth Woodhouse, for instance, it was quarterly accounting between 1765 and 1782: Sheff.Cent.Lib: Wentworth Woodhouse MSS. A2-7, and 8-24, (even numbers only). At Thoresby it was annual accounting between 1760 and 1772: Notts. Univ. Dept. MSS: Manvers MSS. M4419-21.

sustain the running of the household on a consistent basis. But it was not a solitary effort.

After Griffin, the key figure was Charles Higgins. A mere glance at the volumes will at once reveal the quality of this man's work. They were very well kept¹ and it is clear that Higgins took a great deal of pride in his work: a pride that spanned over thirty two years. It was he who was responsible for the first volume in this series and he did not put his pen down until after his master's death. That he enjoyed Sir John's confidence, and indeed respect, is evidenced by his longevity of service, by his handling of large sums of his master's money,² by his involvement in so many transactions on behalf of Griffin and by the fact that he served Sir John at both Audley End and his London house. This record of service speaks highly of the relationship that existed between both men. It has been estimated that the vouchers between 1765 and 1797 number twenty thousand,³ and it was these, and others that have not survived, that he checked and carefully recorded in the account books.

Most of his work was undertaken at his office in the great house. The setting up of rooms for himself, housekeeper and estate steward

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1. This statement is based on a sampling of some other household account books, for example Wentworth Woodhouse, Thoresby, Milton, Ingatestone, Belhus and Braxted Park: for details see bibliography. Although operating on a smaller scale than some of his fellow household stewards, Charles Higgins does not compare unfavourably with William Martin and Benjamin Hall at Wentworth Woodhouse or with Samuel Shering at Thoresby. Members of the Ducane family at Braxted audited themselves.
 2. Higgins' name appears for most years down to 1789 and individual sums varied from as little as £20 to over £2,526: Drummond Bank Ledgers 1763-1797.
 3. See, F.G. Emmison, Guide to the Essex Record Office (Chelmsford 1969), 121, where it is estimated that there were approximately 38,000 vouchers for the period 1762 to 1826.

suggest that Griffin was in earnest in putting his affairs on a sound business-like footing. The three rooms were situated on the ground floor of the north wing,¹ and it might well be that the audit room was shared between the house and estate steward. Higgin's room was situated in the north-east corner of the ground floor and was next to the audit room and near to the estate steward's room. He might have lived in at first, but later he lived in a house of his own.²

As well as keeping a record of the numerous transactions, it is clear that Higgins performed many tasks and his title of butler is misleading and housesteward, which in fact he became, more accurately describes his position.³ As senior member of the internal staff he was responsible for other domestic staff and saw to the running of the household in the absence of a member of the family. Generally, it was he who actually paid other members of the staff, and it was he who supervised the travelling undertaken by members either between Audley End and the Town house or elsewhere in conjunction with their master's business. He supervised the cellars, and no doubt kept a close watch on this important department with his account book in hand.⁴ In representing his master he received some correspondence from different tradesmen⁵ as well as dealing with others orally and on occasions he travelled in pursuance of his master's

1. See illustration 6.
2. Earlier on board and wages are mentioned, see D/DBy A196: May 1765; but later there is mention of his own house, see D/DBy A30/5/72; A296.
3. This arrangement was not unusual, see J.J. Hecht, The Domestic Servant Class in Eighteenth-Century England (1956), 48: D/DBy A11.
4. D/DBy A45/11/87.
5. For example, D/DBy A46/4/88; A46/11/88.

business. Nothing is known of his origins but he seems to have served Lady Portsmouth¹ before being brought to Audley End by Griffin in 1763. The last reference to him appears, appropriately, in the account book for 1797, a special entry dated 15 January, 1798, records:

Parted finally with Mr. Charles Higgins making him a present of Thirty Guineas for his troubles.

It was signed, characteristically, by both Higgins and his new master.²

In his primary concern of managing his master's household he was successful. His range of duties illustrates what might be expected of a housesteward and the manner in which he performed them also brings out two highly rated qualities, dependability and a certain degree of executive talent.³

1. D/DBy T11/1.

2. D/DBy A226. The attachment that might develop between master and steward is also in evidence with the Duke of Newcastle and Samuel Birt, the former being "greatly saddened" by the latter's death in 1752: see, Kelch, Newcastle, 23.

3. Hecht, op.cit., 40-41; see also, J. Lawrence, The Modern Land Steward in which the Duties and Functions of Stewardship are Considered and Explained... (1801), 42. "A thorough knowledge of common accounts, and of the nature of markets, bargaining, and of the proper modes of settlement with tradesmen, will, with the aid of common honesty and discretion, suffice to form the HOUSE STEWARD". See also T. Boughton, Serious Advice and Warning to Servants... (1807 ed.), 9: he refers to the unjust steward and the 8th commandment.

(2) Unit of Employment.

That the household was a unit of employment as well as a unit of management is underlined by the fact that the servant class ranked with the largest of occupational groups in the eighteenth century.¹ At Audley End, this was partly manifested by the special attention given to the recording of data concerning the servants' wages. For as well as being recorded in Higgins' account books,² there are other volumes, one covering the period 1755 to 1773,³ and an incomplete series of smaller volumes between 1784 and 1791.⁴

The large volume entitled "Receipts"⁵ is interesting not only because it tells us a little about the set up before Sir John officially succeeded to Audley End, but also because it provides us with an example of a noticeable contrast in management methods. This volume was used at both ends and appears to have been a general account book in which some transactions were quickly entered. Data concerning servants was entered

1. Hecht, op.cit., 1; Dorothy Marshall, "The Domestic Servant in the Eighteenth Century", Economica (1929), 15-40. J. Huntingford, The Laws of Masters and Servants... (M DGC XC), 97: "The body of domestic servants is very large...." He was Secretary of the Society formed to increase and encourage "good" servants. Here, we shall only be concerned with household staff in the main, and will not consider those employed on the estate and home farm in a productive sense, nor those engaged on rebuilding and restoration work. Collectively the employment of so many persons might be considered equivalent to a small "factory".
2. D/DBY A196-226.
3. D/DBY A11.
4. D/DBY A12-14.
5. D/DBY A11.

at the back. In 1759 nine servants are mentioned; in 1760 six are named, of which three seem to have been based at his London house;¹ in 1761 there are eleven servants and by 1762 the number has grown to fourteen. Sir John was at this time actively pursuing his army career, and perhaps understandably, had less time to devote to household affairs.

But from 1763 there is a noticeable change in the way in which this volume was kept. The hand is much neater and there is some attempt to record the data in a more methodical manner. By this time Sir John had become master of Audley End and Charles Higgins had arrived. He was in Griffin's employ by 22 August at the latest, for on that day the apothecary gave him two doses of physic. Whether he became ill on seeing the way in which this volume was being kept, the account does not specify.² But from this time, the accounts begin to take on their 'Higgins style'. Not only did he record the name of the member of staff and cash paid, but equally important he detailed the actual position held by each servant. Thus the structure of the household as a unit of employment begins to take firm shape from 1763. By 1766 Higgins developed his method further by also itemising individual receipts of payment with each servant's signature or mark at the other end of the volume.

It has been suggested that the size of the domestic staff was seen by contemporaries as one criteria for measuring the wealth of their master.³ In 1763 Griffin's domestic staff stood at sixteen and by 1766 it had grown to twenty six. In this latter year there were twelve female servants

1. The first London house mentioned is at Brook Street, but in 1762 he inherited his aunt's house at New Burlington Street.

2. D/DBy A11.

3. Hecht, op.cit., 2-7.

headed by the housekeeper and followed by Lady Griffin's 'woman', a cook, a London housemaid, two other housemaids, an under housemaid, a still room maid, a kitchen maid, an upper and a lower laundry maid, and finally a dairy maid. There were fourteen males: a butler, an under butler, two footmen, a house boy, a nursery man, a gardener, a gamekeeper, a groom, a huntsman, two postillions, a whipperin and a London porter. In the following year the position of coachman re-appeared and a new post of valet de chambre was recorded for the first time. By 1771-72, a groom of the chambers and upholsterer were added, and in the next year another housemaid and another postillion brought the number to thirty. There were twelve female and eighteen male, and this figure would seem to represent the peak level of employment.¹ Henceforth there were minor changes either involving a slight decrease in the number employed in any one year, twenty six in 1784,² for instance, or in terms of the male-female ratio, but usually ten or eleven female to sixteen or seventeen males. There were also some changes in the posts themselves. For example, by 1784 there is a French male cook;³ in 1785 there is a foot boy and a house boy;⁴ and in 1786 there is a pantry boy for part of the year.⁵ At this time the two footmen are specifically named his Lordship's and her Ladyship's.⁶ Unfortunately, this series is not complete, and there is a

1. D/DBy A11: At Ingatestone Hall, for example, the size of the staff varied from about 34 to 37 between 1766 and 1778; see, E.R.O. D/DP A167.

2. D/DBy A12-14.

3. D/DBy A12.

4. Ibid.

5. D/DBy A13.

6. Ibid.

gap between 1773 and 1784, and again after 1791. The final employment level in the first half of 1791 was twenty eight, eleven female and seventeen male, with the actual positions remaining almost identical to the 1784 composition. Thus some twenty eight persons, although not the same ones over the whole period, received regular employment either at Audley End or at the London house or at both.¹ Within four years of succeeding to the house, the size of the domestic complement almost doubled, and this policy was also reflected in the level of expenditure.

Between 1765 and 1794 a total of £15,992 9s. 2½d. was spent on staff wages or salaries.² This averaged at about £533 per annum, and when computed for the two missing years in the series of household volumes and payments made for the last five months of Griffin's life in 1797 added, the total figure would be in the region of £17,072.³ The lowest annual bill was in 1766 when £307 7s. 7d. was met, and the highest in 1794 when it had risen to £645 14s. 5½d.⁴ For the first few years, until 1769, apart from minor payments throughout the year, the main part of this annual bill was met in December, but from 1770, the arrangement for most years was to continue to pay small sums to some of the servants throughout the year, but the bulk of the cash was paid on a sixth monthly basis, in June or July and in December. In the 1760s annual payments remained below the £400 level; in the 1770s they rose from £430 but did not reach £600; from 1786 they topped that level. Annual payments doubled over the period as a

1. For comparative figures, see Hecht, op.cit., 5.

2. This, and subsequent totals, are based on my analysis of the household volumes, D/DBY A196-226.

3. In the absence of the volumes for 1795 and 1796 I have computed on the basis of average per annum and this method has been adhered to for all sections.

4. See appendix 18.

whole, but it was due to a gradual increase in expenditure and did not stem from a single event, such as Sir John's elevation to the peerage. Indeed, in the years immediately following his acquisition of a title, the increase was minimal. It was Charles Higgins who was responsible for actually paying the internal staff and for this purpose regular sums of money were drawn on his name from Drummonds. If literate the individual servants signed that they had received payment and if unable to write they marked a cross.¹ On occasions the transaction was witnessed by another senior member of the staff, such as Martin Nockold, the nursery man.

But if the size of the payroll reflected the master's wealth, the scale of individual wages indicated one of the differences in status within the servant hierarchy.² In 1763³ individual wages ranged from £21 per year to the coachman; £16 to the housekeeper; fifteen guineas to the upper postillion; £15 to the groom; £12 to the cook; £10 each to the two footmen and under butler; £8 to her Ladyship's waiting woman; £7 to the second postillion; £6 to the houseboy; £5 to the under housemaid; £3 16s. to the still room maid; and £3 to the kitchen maid. At the head of the household stood Higgins who was paid £40 per year. There is an upward movement in the level of these wages, and some individual rises were spectacular.⁴ Charles Higgins' salary rose to £50 by 1766-67, to £63 by 1784 at which level it remained until 1791. The housekeeper's wages rose to £18 in 1768-69, to £20 in 1770-71, to £25 in

1. D/DBy A11-14.

2. Hecht, op.cit., 35-70.

3. D/DBy A11.

4. D/DBy A11-14.

1772-73 and was at £30 in 1784 at which level it remained until 1790 when it rose sharply to £25 per half year. Martin Nockold, the nursery man or bailiff as he became, was paid £25 in 1766-67, £30 in 1769-70, and a further rise in 1772-73 brought him up to £50 per annum, at which level it remained until 1791. A similar trend occurred over the post of cook. In 1763 the cook was paid £12 and this was nearly doubled by 1766-67 when it was at £23, rising again in 1769-70 to £25. By 1784 the male French cook was paid £50 per year and this level was maintained until 1791.¹ For other members of the staff, the financial remuneration remained constant. The valet de chambre, for example, was paid at £30 per year from 1769 to 1791, and the same was true of the groom of the chambers from 1771-72 until 1791. On other occasions there was a slight drop in the level of wages in the event of a new person being taken on. This happened in 1766-67 when a new groom was paid fifteen guineas for his first year of employment, one guinea a year less than his predecessor, but was then upgraded to eighteen guineas for 1769-70 and upgraded further to £20 for 1770-71.² This might well have been due to Griffin's insistence that the new man had first to prove himself. Yet on other occasions the new man might be paid considerably more than his predecessor. This happened over the position of kitchen gardener. Between 1766 and 1772 the gardener was paid £16 per annum,³ but when a new man took over in that year, he received £25 per annum, at which level he remained until 1791.⁴ This might be explained by the fact that Griffin was either paying more for

1. The French cook "ranked among the proudest possessions of wealthy aristocrats". See, Mingay, op.cit., 220.

2. D/DBy A11.

3. Ibid.

4. D/DBy A14: see also appendix 19.

additional expertise, or perhaps the nature of the contract had changed.

There are a number of instances where such contracts between the individual servant and Sir John have survived. On 29 June, 1763, a William Pope was engaged as the senior or upper postillion. His agreement stipulated that for fifteen guineas per annum and "no Vails"¹ - to find Himself in Boots Shoes & Breeches - to be cloath'd as the Rest - to have Full Livery when new are made".² Or again, on 9 September of the same year, a Thomas Cutner was engaged as under butler: he was to be paid £10 per year and was to find his own boots, shoes and leather breeches.³ The best example, however, is over John Chapman, who was taken on as game-keeper in 1766 at £26 per annum. On 13 January, 1768, new proposals were drawn up.⁴ He was to surrender all his own dogs to his master in return for an allowance and was never to have more dogs of his own. He was to find his own guns, leather breeches, boots, but was to be provided with a suit of green cloth consisting of a coat, waistcoat and breeches annually, a hat, shooting jacket or fustian frock and a common flannel waistcoat also

1. See Marshall, op.cit., 24: J. Hanway, Eight Letters to His Grace - Duke of - On the Custom of Vails Giving in England... (1760): On the abolition of this practice he contended that "Masters will become really Masters, and they should be esteemed as Fathers to their Domestic", (64). See also, J. Hanway, The Sentiments and Advice of Thomas Trueman... (1760) where he argued "I am morally certain that the Abolition of Vails will be the restoration of the harmony of the Families" (29). And added that "We should possibly find more indulgence in Sickness, and Old Age; greater Promotion and Assistance in case of Wedlock; and there would be more conjugal Faith in our rank of life" (30).

2. D/DBy A11.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

on a yearly basis, and a great coat once in two years. His salary remained at £26 per annum. On 25 September, 1769, another contract was drawn up.¹

I, John Chapman Game Keeper am to find my Own Cloaths on all sorts entirely, and to appear in Green when out with the Honble. Sr. John Griffin or any of his Friends, and to be in Green likewise on Sundays, & on other Occasions when required, to find my own Guns of all Sorts, and to keep them in Repair at my own Expence, and Every Dog under my Care is to be my Masters Property only, and for his Use, and on these Conditions I promise to Serve from Year to Year as long as My Master Sr. John Griffin Pleases, at the Yearly wages of Forty Guineas, without any further Demands or Alterations".

By 29 September, 1773,² yet another contract was drawn up. It confirmed the previous contract and added the following clauses: 52 weeks board and wages at 6s. per week amounting to £15. 12s.; a two guinea annual allowance for the use of two horses; £8 16s. for shoeing, farriary, saddles, bridles, brooms, brushes, oil, curry combs, with an allowance for two loads of straw for the litter; £31 10s. was allowed for the maintenance of the dogs - seven pointers and three greyhounds - feeding them with barley meal, milk, bread, horse flesh, and for pails, couples, collars, chains, whistles, straw, medicines, copper for boiling and firing. Amounting to £100, this sum, as well as a house, was to be allowed Chapman annually. A final clause stated that all "the Dung is to be left for the use of Sr. John Griffin and there is to be no bills for Dogs or Horses, or anything belonging therto, the Keeper is to be Allow'd for Ammunition Nets etc. as is mentioned in a Paper of Particulars to About the Sum of £13 9s. per Ann. a Little more or Less as it may herafter Happen". A further modification took place at Christmas 1786 when Chapman was allowed

1. Ibid.

2. Ibid.

£29 16s. 0d. for one years allowance for the dogs.¹ All four contracts were signed by John Chapman. Although the motive on both sides was purely self interest, some contemporary writers emphasised the solemnity of the contract which was intended for "mutual benefit which ought to be held sacred".²

For frequently there was what the historian³ of this occupational group has called an "emotional or sentimental tie binding master and servant; for it was supposed that what was in the first instance a contract would develop into a truly family bond". Although there are some examples of fairly rapid movement of staff at Audley End, five different girls held the position of lady in waiting between 1766 and 1770⁴, there are many more examples to show longevity of service. Charles Higgins remained there from 1762 to 1798; John Chapman from 1766 to 1797 at least; Martin Nockold from 1766 until his death in 1795, when his son Jacob succeeded to his post.⁵ In one of his letters⁶ to his friend Richard Neville, Griffin, in recounting a bad fall while hunting mentioned his "Providential Escape...my Groom's attention & Resolution, was I really believe of infinite Consequence. The shock I receiv'd from ye Fall made it necessary in ye Opinion of Those that were by, that I should be blooded; he undertook It without ever having blooded a human Being before & did It well...I am now so well, that I shall feel no future

1. D/DBy A45/7/87.

2. J. Hanway, Domestic Happiness (1786), 78.

3. Hecht, op.cit., 74.

4. D/DBy A11.

5. Each of these lived in his own house on the estate.

6. D/DBy C/28.

ill Consequences from It". In his will¹ Sir John made gifts to his servants and some of them such as the valet, gamekeeper, and house steward were mentioned specifically. Further a note in the 2nd Lord Braybrooke's hand records that over £150 of stock in his own account "belongs to young Chapman, son of the Audley End Keeper, it being the legacy left to him by Id. Howard",² and payments were made for the education of the "little" postillion.³ Lady Griffin, shortly before she left Audley End after the death of her husband chose to remember "faithful servants to whom I owe sincere regard".⁴

Although the frequent criticism⁵ levelled against this occupational group makes it clear that the Georgian century "was no golden age of service",⁶ and although most of the records to survive derive from the master's side, it would seem that generally a very satisfactory relationship existed between Sir John and Lady Griffin and most of their domestic staff. For one thing service "was both a refuge and a means whereby improved social status could be obtained".⁷ That it was a refuge might have been particularly appreciated by members of the Audley End staff in 1795 for example when there was a food shortage in the locality.⁸ That

1. D/DBy A371.

2. D/DBy A373/2.

3. D/DBy A51/2/93.

4. D/DBy C6/6.

5. Marshall, op.cit., 38: Broughton, op.cit.: for example he mentions drunkenness and the keeping of bad company, 13-14. See also Huntingford, op.cit., who wrote that the "neglect of CHARACTER in recommending or receiving servants is the great source of mischief, the most noxious bane of focal happiness in this city, if not in the country at large", 97. He advocated that a servant's character be certified by the previous employer and that the servant registered at an office under the inspection of the Society, 110.

6. Hecht, op.cit., 77.

7. Ibid, 19.

8. See Part 1, chapter 4.

it might lead to improved social status can be instanced by the Nockold family's rise through the first generation from nursery man to bailiff, through the second generation from bailiff to estate steward, and subsequently to land agents in north west Essex.¹ In any event, service in a great house was considered more distinguished than service with the plain gentry, and not only for social but for economic reasons, for better living conditions usually prevailed.² Although some contemporary writers³ mentioned the prejudice that existed against married servants and although apparently rare for a married couple to find employment in the same household, there is at least one example of the latter at Audley End. The French cook and his wife were employed, and an Elizabeth Hicks, Jane Dean, and Sarah Aram are mentioned, whereas men bearing these surnames were also employed.⁴ The refurbishing of the servants' quarters in the great house, above the stables or on the estate all received thorough attention.⁵

But the master-servant relationship was one which operated in more than one direction. The size and composition of the domestic staff were partly indicative of the status of the master. Their presence in an establishment was a clear demonstration of their master's "ability to pay and

1. See Part IV.

2. J. Marchand (ed.), A Frenchman in England, 1784 (1933), 25-27.

3. J. Hanway, Advice to Thomas Trueman, (1760), 50.

4. D/DBy A12-14.

5. For example, A259 Wheeler's accounts, 52, 58, 79; A259 Wade's accounts, 76-77; A259, Rogens's accounts, 84-85.

maintain them in return for little or no productive work".¹ This was particularly so with those servants whose duties were generally performed outside the house itself, such as the footman, whose chief value it has been estimated was in the "efficiency with which he advertised the extent of his master's wealth....He was, in consequence, one of the most vital parts of his master's equipment of display".² Among those who performed this task for Sir John were the valet, two coachmen, a porter, two footmen, groom and postillion. But servants were also vital to the running of a great house and indeed, it was their competence that partly enabled their master "to combine in his person at least some of his many possible private and public functions, as politician and administrator, estate manager, agricultural improver, industrial entrepreneur and investor, patron of sport and the arts, arbiter of taste and fashion - in short enabled him to live as a true representative of the landed class, the real power and controlling force in eighteenth century society".³ Some of this "power" is evidenced by the expenditure level of this group, of which the household provides one example, and an example which demonstrates the expenditure priority of the individual landlord, and as such reflects not only a way of life, but also a particular way of life of one member of this ruling group.

1. Hecht, op.cit., 53.

2. Ibid, 53-54.

3. Mingay, op.cit., 232.

(3) Unit of Consumption.

That the household should be a unit of consumption was a natural corollary of its being a unit of employment. In return for service it was the master's responsibility to feed and clothe those on his staff who lived in as well as to clothe some of the others who did not actually live in the great house. Charles Higgins' division of the household into some twenty sections¹ gives ample testimony of the breadth as well as the depth of his master's role as agent of consumption. Within the general framework of the household there was partly a departmental structure with clearly defined heads of departments with subordinate members of staff. Other aspects did not lend themselves to such clearly defined lines of demarcation and probably came under Higgins' supervision. For present purposes the household can be seen as the provider and reflector of activities and interests.

An examination of those areas to come under the umbrella term of provisions suggests in the first place a division into two main types; food, drink and other housekeeping contingencies; and apparel, liveries and physical well-being. From January 1766 the second Lady Griffin was head of housekeeping and Higgins usually recorded each month in his account book "To Cash pd. my Lady for Housekeeping".² Usually these referred to the oversight of either or both the houses, but on occasions to her Ladyship's housekeeping at such places as Tonbridge for the months of July and August in 1767,³ or at Bath during February, March and April

1. See appendix 17 for examples of household sections at Audley End and elsewhere.

2. D/DBY A197: January 1766.

3. D/DBY A198: July and August 1767.

in 1768.¹ On other occasions the absence of such a record coupled with a considerable drop in the amount spent on housekeeping suggests that the Griffins were not only away from home, but were probably house guests elsewhere.² At other times³ the reverse pertained when the monthly expenditure rose sharply suggesting that guests were entertained at Audley End. As might be expected the December level was generally above the average as a result of seasonal celebrations. In terms of cash spent by Lady Griffin, this varied from £2 9s. 10d.⁴ in one week, to £26 4s. 10½d.⁵ in a single month, to £149 12s. 5½d.⁶ in an above average month, and to £219 11s. 0½d.⁷ in December.

Below her Ladyship, and heading the female servants, was the housekeeper. The first person to hold this position seems to have been a Mrs. Hogg⁸ and the first to appear on Higgins' list was a Mrs. Margaret Allen⁹ who had been engaged by 1756.¹⁰ and remained in Griffin's employ until 1767.¹¹ Later housekeepers included an Elizabeth Perkins from 1784

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1. D/DBy A199: February, March and April 1768.
 2. D/DBy A199. On other occasions cash was paid to her Ladyship for perhaps one or two weeks in a month, again suggesting that the Griffins were not in residence for the remaining parts of those months.
 3. D/DBy A203: April 1772.
 4. D/DBy A201: July 1770.
 5. D/DBy A197: January 1766.
 6. D/DBy A203: April 1772.
 7. D/DBy A200: December 1769.
 8. D/DBy A15.
 9. D/DBy A11.
 10. Ibid.
 11. D/DBy A18.

until 1789,¹ and a Mary Hill from 1790 to 1797.² Other servants in this department were a kitchen maid, four house and two laundry maids. There was also a cook, a still room maid and pantry boy and a new range of kitchen offices, designed by Adam, had been erected by Griffin. Between 1765 and 1794 a total of £25,493 0s. 11d. was spent on housekeeping, this averaged at £849 per annum, and the projected total would be about £27,791.³ The least spent in any one year was £573 19s. 4d.⁴ in 1766 and the maximum in 1794 when the figure was £1,123 11s. 2¹/₄d.⁵

For a limited part of the whole period Higgins' accounts books can be supplemented by two volumes. The first entitled "Housekeeping Book 1765"⁶ commences in the week ending 10 May of that year and ends on Saturday night, 30 December, 1769. It is not a continuous record and there are gaps.⁷ Kept on a weekly basis the accounts are organised under three main headings, meat, bread and sundries, the last including food and such commodities as candles.⁸ Meat during this limited period was supplied by a

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1. D/DBy A12-14.
 2. D/DBy A14 and A226.
 3. D/DBy A196-226: see appendix 20. The two main components were cash paid to Lady Griffin and Nockold, but miscellaneous payments included some servants' wages, odd items of food, grinding wheat, and so on.
 4. D/DBy A197.
 5. D/DBy A225: see Rosamond Bayne-Powell, Housekeeping in the Eighteenth Century (1956).
 6. D/DBy A18.
 7. For example it does not record events after Friday 16 January 1767 until it starts again in the week ending 18 September of that year, by which time there had been a change of housekeeper. There are also gaps within the "reigns" of the two housekeepers.
 8. D/DBy A19-20: soap, candles etc. are discussed below.

local butcher, William Turner, and included beef, mutton, veal, pork, hams, tongue, calves' heads, sweet breads, pigs' heads, lambs' heads and ears and so on. A specific example for the week 10 to 17 May, 1765, shows that 291 pounds of meat was purchased costing £4 6s., and this included 268 pounds of beef, nine breasts and fourteen shoulders of veal.¹ Two millers or bakers, James Edwards and John Rusted, both local men,² supplied bread which included French bricks at 6d. each, quartern loaves at 6³/₄d. each, and quartern bricks at 6¹/₂d. each.³ The third section combines purchases and produce from the home farm and estate. Items such as butter "paid for" and butter "made at home" are recorded. Other produce includes butter, milk, cream, cheese; among the game were rabbits, hares, pigeons, duck, partridge, pheasant, goose, green goose, fowl, quail, buck, turkey, woodcock, snipe and lark; the fish included tench, perch, eels, salmon, trout, crawfish, carp, oysters and lobsters. Other entries record sausages, "Cheina Orringes", "Cheser" cheese and "Mussoroms". Some of the produce was sent up to the Town house as well as supplying the needs of the great house. The second volume⁴ is a contingent book covering the years 1793 to 1796 and complements the earlier volume some household business on a weekly basis. It deals with some of the regular purchases such as tea, coffee, yeast, salt and the like, and there are abstracts of money spent per week, although there are gaps.

Additional light on the procurement of some of the food consumed is gained from the home farm accounts. There are three very large volumes

1. D/DBy A18.

2. D/DBy E3.

3. D/DBy A18: September 1765.

4. D/DBy A377: See, Hannah Glasse, The Servant's Directory or House-keeper's Companion... (MD CCLX), for a similar housekeeping system.

covering the period 1772 to 1803,¹ and a large slim volume covering the period 1775 to 1809 which is an abstract of the larger volumes.² For our present purposes³ suffice to state that the home farm supplied the household with both meat and dairy produce and that the person who was responsible for arranging this was the nursery man or bailiff as he later became. From 1772 onwards the produce from the home farm was carefully recorded and the amount sent to the great house itemized separately. For example, between 1 January and 25 March, 1772, the following produce was sent: six sheep weighing 277 pounds at 4½d. per pound; five hogs weighing 288 pounds at 5d. per pound; 162 pounds of butter at 8d. per pound; 26 quarts of cream at 1s. per quart; and 69 quarts of milk at 1½d. a quart. This bill amounted to £18 13s. 7½d. The transaction was recorded in detail in the home farm accounts and a copy was made for the monthly vouchers from which an abstract was entered into Higgins' account book.⁴ This usually reads: "To cash paid to Martin Nockold for House-keeping had from the Farm as pr. Bill of Particulars".⁵ Early on the transaction between household and home farm was recorded after several months' business, but soon after the home farm was developed on a commercial basis the volume of produce increased and the transaction was recorded on a monthly basis.⁶ Martin Nockold also saw to supervising the kitchen

1. D/DBy A262-264.

2. D/DBy A291.

3. The activities of the home farm are discussed in Part IV.

4. For this specific example, see D/DBy A262; A30/3/72; A203; March 1772.

5. For example, D/DBy A204: March 1773.

6. See appendix 21.

gardens although there was a gardener who was helped by an additional labour force in working the seven acres in supplying the household with some of its fruit and vegetables.¹ Among the produce mentioned were raspberries, strawberries,² peaches, apricots, plums, a variety of beans, radish, turnips, carrots, parsnips, leeks, mustard, cress, spinach, onions,³ apples, pears, cherries,⁴ cauliflower, broccoli,⁵. The purchase of sulphur, tobacco and Scotch snuff for destroying insects indicates that John Oram took his duties seriously.⁶ Food continued to be purchased from outside tradesmen and these included Turkish coffee,⁷ tripe from Norwich for Lady Griffin⁸, salmon,⁹ oysters,¹⁰ turtle;¹¹ local, London and provincial shopkeepers enjoyed Sir John's custom in supplying run of the mill items of food as well as delicacies.¹²

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1. On a monthly basis these bills usually showed work done in the plantations and kitchen gardens.
 2. D/DBy A45/3/87.
 3. D/DBy A45/5/87.
 4. D/DBy A51/7/93.
 5. D/DBy A49/7/91.
 6. D/DBy A46/4/88.
 7. D/DBy A44/5/86.
 8. D/DBy A46/3/88.
 9. D/DBy A34/3/76.
 10. D/DBy A35/12/77.
 11. D/DBy A44/10/86.
 12. See, A. Heasel, The Servants Book of Knowledge (1773), 77; I have been unable to locate this work in this country and my thanks are due to the National Lending Library staff for their help. Consequently, I have quoted Heasel from Dr. Hecht's authoritative work on the domestic servant class in the eighteenth century, but for convenience have only cited Heasel; Dorothy Marshall, "Manners, Meals, and Domestic Pastimes" in A.S. Turberville (ed.), Johnson's England An Account of the Life & Manners of his Age (1965), 1, 336-361; J.C. Drummond and Anne Wilbraham, The Englishman's Food A History of Five Centuries of English Diet (1957), 171-276.

But apart from the procurement of food, the housekeeping department also included four other sections, namely, soap and washing materials, stores for the use of the housekeeper and her staff, candles and oil, and finally the purchase of coal, charcoal and wood. Here, as elsewhere, the same concern for detail was shown, and although each comes within the orbit of housekeeping in its widest sense, it is possible to analyse them independently.

Between 1765 and 1794 the sum of £869 8s. 3d. was expended on soap and washing materials and this averaged at £28 per annum¹ giving a projected total of £938. Understandable variations in annual expenditure were less marked here than was the case in some other sections. On an annual basis it varied from £14 4s. 8d. in 1765² to £88 5s. 3½d. in 1766³, and in monthly terms from as little as 1s. in October 1776⁴ to as much as £11 17s. 1d. in December 1766.⁵ As with the general section on housekeeping, here, too, for most months it was a case of "cash paid to my Lady" who had oversight of this aspect of the household. As expected the vouchers and entries in the account books are repetitive, but the careful recording of such details might indicate the importance attached to the cleanliness and personal hygiene of the household and its members.⁶

1. D/DBy A196-226: see appendix 22.

2. D/DBy A196.

3. D/DBy A197.

4. D/DBy A207.

5. D/DBy A197.

6. There are conflicting opinions as to cleanliness and personal hygiene: see for example, Marshall, "Manners, Meals, and Domestic Pastimes", op.cit., 340-341; T. Balston (ed.), The Housekeeping Book of Susanna Whatman 1776-1800 (1956); D. Yarwood, The English Home, A Thousand Years of Furniture and Decoration (1956), 249. In November 1785, for instance, Joseph Bramah was paid £36 17s. Od. for four patent water closets: D/DBy A216: accounts 1785. See also above, Part II.

The stores for the use of the housekeeper and her staff also touch upon the cleanliness of the house and its offices. Between 1765 and 1794 the sum of £376 10s. 5¹/₄d. was spent, averaging £12 per annum and giving a projected total of £400.¹ Annually expenditure varied between £2 12s. 10d. in 1778² to £19 19s. in 1779,³ and monthly from as little as 1s. 3d. in May 1765⁴ to as much as £14 12s. 1d. in June 1791.⁵ Again Lady Griffin had oversight of this sub-department and the commodities purchased included soap, mops, brooms, flannels, clogs and turnery goods.

As might be expected the amount spent on candles and oil was considerably higher and between 1765 and 1794 it was £2,564 11s. 1¹/₂d., averaging £85 per annum and giving a projected total of £2,797.⁶ The annual range was very marked rising from as little as £2 14s. 11d. in 1765⁷ to £129 19s. 6d. in 1787,⁸ and monthly from 8d. in July 1776⁹ to as much as £64 2s. 8d. in December of that year.¹⁰ Also coming under her Ladyship's supervision the individual items purchased included candles, cotton for the lamps, lamp oil, and wax lights. Understandably both London¹¹ and

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1. D/DBy A196-226: see appendix 23.
 2. D/DBy A209.
 3. D/DBy A210.
 4. D/DBy A196.
 5. D/DBy A222.
 6. D/DBy A196-226: see appendix 24.
 7. D/DBy A196.
 8. D/DBy A216.
 9. D/DBy A207.
 10. Ibid.
 11. D/DBy A206: May 1775.

local¹ tradesmen were among the suppliers.

The fuel consumption was even higher. Between 1765 and 1794 the sum spent was £5,557 9s. 11½d. averaging £185 per year and giving a projected total of £5,958.² On an annual basis this varied from £89 14s. 1d. in 1765³ to £262 9s. 5d. in 1790,⁴ and in monthly terms from as little as 2s. in a number of months⁵ to as much as £204 7s. 6d. in December 1794.⁶ Fuels were purchased in most months but it was the buying of coal that pushed the expense up dramatically. Wood and faggots from the estate⁷ were collected and these were also purchased from outside dealers. The purchase of coal however called for the arrangement for its transport. One dealer who served Griffin for many years was a certain Elsdon of the Lynn Coal Company. This 'sea' coal, which included Dutch and 'Scotch', was landed at Kings Lynn, shipped over inland waterway to Cambridge and then overland to Audley End. The vouchers record the payment of freightage charges as well as for the coal, and it was usually the estate steward who saw to arranging the carriage of coal overland: "Cash paid for 30 journeys to Cambridge for coals pr. Mr. Pennystones account".⁸

1. D/DBy A209: August 1778.

2. D/DBy A196-226, see appendix 25.

3. D/DBy A196.

4. D/DBy A221.

5. For instance in August 1775 and July 1776: D/DBy A206-207.

6. D/DBy A224.

7. See Part IV; D/DBy A205: July 1774; A200: February 1769.

8. D/DBy A200: July 1769.

For example, in July 1771 thirty five such journeys were made and the total bill for the coal and its transport in that month came to £101 10s.¹ On occasions the vouchers mention the number of waggons used by Sir John's tenants, such as in July 1773 when nineteen narrow wheel and one broad wheel waggons were used.² On other occasions the coal was landed at Thameside and brought up the waterway as far as Stortford where it was met by Griffin's men and carried overland for the last part of the journey.³

Although not a sub-department as such, contingencies was given a separate section between 1766 and 1794, when £1,375 17s. 11¹/₄d. was spent, averaging £47 per annum and giving a projected total of £1,486.⁴ Annually this varied from £31 4s. 7d. in 1782⁵ to £167 5s. 1¹/₂d. in 1789,⁶ and on a monthly basis between 1s. 4d. in August 1794⁷ and £125 9s. 7d. in May 1789.⁸ This section is particularly interesting as it touches upon so many aspects of life in a Georgian household and concerning both members of the family and domestic staff, and although frequently recording the trivia of everyday life, it also enables us to catch a glimpse of the human activity behind the statistics that characterise the household accounts generally. All sorts of details are recorded: for example, in

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1. D/DBy A202.
 2. D/DBy A204.
 3. D/DBy A203: June 1772.
 4. D/DBy A197-226, see appendix 26.
 5. D/DBy A213.
 6. D/DBy A220.
 7. D/DBy A224.
 8. D/DBy A220.

1768¹, a rat trap (1s. 6d.); 200 tooth picks (2s.); 6 packs of playing cards (9s.); 2 bottles of Selter water (3s. 6d.); the payment of 7s. 6d. for beating all the carpets in the London house; the cartage of goods "into the City" (6s.); sweeping the chimneys in the Town house (4s.); or in 1772,² cash paid for loading the waggon with family goods (4s.); cash given to Lady Griffin's chairmen (2s. 6d.); to cash given to two 'musick men' (5s.); cash given to two under porters at the House of Commons (5s.); to cash given to "two of the musick belonging to the Troop for their Expence from London to Audley End & Back again" (two guineas); among the items in 1789³ was the payment of £2 0s. 6d. to Mr. Dellar, for hanging lamps for illumination to celebrate the King's 'happy recovery', and in 1794⁴ a further £5 6s. 8½d. was paid for illuminations to celebrate Lord Howe's victory.

Another item included financially with contingencies but given a separate entry in the account books was the payment of Christmas boxes.⁵ Altogether £170 17s. was spent on gifts given in London, and among the recipients were the yeomen of the guard, the porter and under-porters at St. James', the postman, the New River waterman, the dustman, the watchman, the farrier's boy, the bellman and beadle, the hosier's boy, the foreign postman, the Chelsea waterman, the newsman's boy and the lamplighter. At Audley End the amount spent was £21 2s. 0d. and among the fewer recipients were the baker's boy, the butcher's boy, the collarmaker's boy, the tailor's boy, the miller's man and the mealman's man.

1. D/DBy A199.

2. D/DBy A203.

3. D/DBy A219.

4. D/DBy A225: the illuminations cost £93 18s. and included 510 lamps, D/DBy A47/5/89.

5. D/DBy A196-226.

Although not within the housekeeper's department, the procurement of wine and beer was a vital part of provisions and the need for adequate supervision was recognised by some contemporaries. "Take great care of your wine and other liquors, not only to keep them in good order, but likewise to prevent their being embezzled, or given away to any other persons besides those who have a right to them according to your instructions".¹ At Audley End the wine cellars were supervised by Charles Higgins and references to special account books, which have not survived, suggest that he kept a close watch on this important department.² The cellars had been repaired and rebuilt during the early part of the restoration work and there are references to "taking up part of Wine Cellar Vault", building a wall in the wine vault, cutting a doorway from the old to the new cellar as well as making bins in the wine vault and fitting "1 New Strong Iron gate in Cellar".³

Between 1765 and 1794 the sum of £4,880 3s. 11d. was spent on wine, averaging £162 per annum and giving a projected total of £5,258.⁴ Annual expenditure varied from £50 3s. 2d. in 1774⁵ to £343 14s. 10½d. in 1766⁶, and individual purchases from a few pounds⁷ to well over one hundred pounds.⁸ This department was stocked from the first month of the keeping

1. Heasel, op.cit., 70.

2. Balston, op.cit., 43.

3. D/DBy A259 Rogers' accounts, 86; A259 Ward's accounts, 24.

4. D/DBy A196-226, see appendix 27.

5. D/DBy A205.

6. D/DBy A197.

7. D/DBy A38/6/80.

8. D/DBy A54/5/96.

of household account books and in January 1765 there is an entry for "Cash paid for wines as appears pr. bill".¹ Regular purchases were made in this first year² and the peak in annual spending was reached in the following year, and only on three occasions did the level of expenditure fall below one hundred pounds per annum.³ Wine continued to be purchased up to the month of Griffin's death.⁴

The aim to build up a "noble wine cellar...worthy of a great nobleman"⁵ was as dependent on quality and variety as well as quantity, and prevailing conditions⁶ aided this group in its pursuit of luxury goods. Among the wines and spirits purchased were port, sherry brandy, rum, claret, hermitage, madeira, champagne, hock, brandy, Cape and Cyprus wines, and understandably these were bought in varying quantities at any one time.⁷ The wine was procured in a number of different ways. On some occasions

1. D/DBy A196.
2. D/DBy Ibid, February and March 1765.
3. In 1774, 1785 and 1790.
4. In 1797 the total was £54 8s. 6d. up until May.
5. Gladys Scott Thomson, Life in a Noble Household: 1641-1700 (1937), 183.
6. See W.E. Minchinton, The Growth of English Overseas Trade in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries (1969); Judith Blow Williams, British Commercial Policy and Trade Expansion 1750-1850 (1972).
7. H.E.S. Fisher, The Portugal Trade A Study of Anglo-Portuguese Commerce 1700-1770 (1971), particularly 'The Wine Trade', 77-86. Although the proportion of wine to other imported commodities dropped during the period, see, Elizabeth Boody Schumpter, English Overseas Trade Statistics 1697-1808 (1960), 11-12. A.L. Simon felt obliged to deviate from his plan when writing the history of wine in England in this century, otherwise it would have been too bulky: See, A.L. Simon, Bottle Screw Days Wine Drinking in England During the Eighteenth Century (1926).

a member of Griffin's family obtained the particular wine on his behalf. This happened in February 1765 when the Count de Welderen was paid £21 for Cape Wine,¹ and again in 1766 when a member of the Clayton family supplied two pipes of port costing £66 4s.² On other occasions it was Griffin who purchased sufficient wine so that some of his friends might also be supplied, as was the case in November 1787.³ Of the seven pipes of port purchased only one was retained the others being divided between Mr. Wolfe, and Mr. Fiske, of Saffron Walden, Mr. Raymond, also a neighbour and one of his hunting friends, Mr. Peckard, one of his many ecclesiastical friends, and a Mr. Robinson. This fairly large quantity costing over £267 in all was received and signed for by Charles Higgins.

Generally, however, it was a case of Griffin making direct purchase from a number of dealers. For instance, Mr. Jennings supplied Burgundy in March 1765⁴; a dealer named Smith supplied two separate quantities of claret in 1767⁵; Mr. Macintosh a pipe of madeira in 1770⁶; John Wild a quantity of old sherry in 1786⁷; and in the same year Frisby and Company supplied four gallons of best cogniac for £2. 16s;⁸ or Mr. Rowles who supplied over £256 worth of unspecified wine.⁹ Some of the bills give more precise details of a particular transaction, as was the case

1. D/DBy A196.

2. D/DBy A197: February 1766.

3. D/DBy A45/11/87.

4. D/DBy A196.

5. D/DBy A198: May and December 1767.

6. D/DBy A201: January and February 1770.

7. D/DBy A44/9/86.

8. Ibid.

9. D/DBy A197: October and November 1766.

with the firm of Paul Amsinck and Son, of Sise Lane, London, who supplied madeira wine in June 1787.¹ On this occasion a pipe of madeira was landed from an East Indiaman and carried by Adcocks waggon from the Dolphin firstly to Sise Lane and then by cart to Bishopsgate Street. In the following year a letter to Sir John from John Bristow² refers to the purchase of nine pipes of port costing over £174 with a further charge of over £17 for duties. This quota had been shipped and the writer added that the wines "are prime and of excellent quality" and mentioned that Mr. D'Oyly would see to its disposal. D'Oyly, who was Sir John's agent, is referred to as being at the Customs House,³ and it is clear that as well as looking after other aspects of Griffin's affairs,⁴ he also had a hand in the procurement of wine. On one occasion⁵ a letter addressed to D'Oyly mentions that the writer had been "desired by Lord Howard to acquaint you that we have shipped on board the Hoy Active John Lawrence Master a Hamper of Wine marked LHS for his Lordship, who desired it might be addressed to you for the payment of Duties, but we being obliged to give security for them on the landing, they have been paid here and included in the account of Disbursements annexed...The Hoy will arrive at Chester & Brewer Quay near the Custom House, from whence the Wine will be sent to Burlington Street where it is directed". On this occasion the wine was champagne shipped from Calais. In the same year D'Oyly saw to

1. D/DBy A45/6/87.

2. D/DBy A46/10/88.

3. The Customs House Establishment List, 39/16, 1773-1782, has been checked, but there is no record of a John D'Oyly.

4. See Part 1, chapter 6.

5. D/DBy A48/6/90.

the payment of ten pipes of old port and a further ten pipes of port. This vast quantity of 2,520 gallons cost £405 4s. 6d. The wine had been shipped by a Charles Page aboard 'The Queen' and had been supplied by Wild and Greenwood. D'Oyly received $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent commission and the Bank Ledgers indicate that the bill was paid by two drafts.¹ This firm continued to enjoy Griffin's custom and port was purchased in large quantities.²

Nor were direct transactions limited to firms in England. For instance in June 1788³ Messrs. Ruinart and Sons of Rheims supplied £360 of champagne, £180 of red hermitage, and £144 of burgundy. A letter from Ruinart to Griffin accompanied the account. It transpired that the wine in question had been sent to Calais for shipment and the writer hoped that the wines would meet Sir John's expectations. He informed that "our wines,...are largely provided with some of the best qualities. Most of our own Vineyards. We hope therefore your Lordship will honour our house with the continuation of your commands and those of your friends and acquaintances".

Although it is clear that Sir John usually bought in bulk, such as half a butt of sherry,⁴ a hogshead of claret,⁵ casks of burgundy⁶ as well as the several pipes, there were occasions when bottled wine was purchased. For example, Allan and Company supplied one hundred bottles of claret,⁷

1. D/DBy A48/12/90; Drummond Bank Ledgers, 1 and 10 December 1790.

2. D/DBy A50/9/92; A51/12/93; A54/5/96.

3. D/DBy A51/12/93; see also Simon, op.cit., 193.

4. D/DBy A55/3/97.

5. D/DBy A201: March and April 1770.

6. D/DBy A209.

7. D/DBy A51/2/93.

and Messrs. Challice at different times supplied quantities ranging from a half dozen to seventeen and a half dozen bottles of wine.¹ This latter account spread over a few years and one item records a discount on the return of eighteen dozen empty pint bottles. Most of the wine purchased seems to have gone to Burlington Street in the first instance where it was divided into town and country consumption, and for the latter purpose careful arrangements for its transport to Audley End were made. Thus wine purchased from various dealers and imported from Spain, France, Portugal, the Canaries among other countries would ultimately find its way into the cellars of this group, advertising the style of living enjoyed by members of the landed group. That Griffin spent on average £3 per week over the period at a time when old sherry was purchased at 30s. per dozen,² and port was purchased by the pipe gives some indication of what that style of living might have amounted to.

But if procuring wine was a luxury activity, the brewing of beer was one way in which the great household demonstrated its self sufficiency in procuring part of the staple diet.³ As with the wine cellars, so too with the beer cellars, they were repaired and improved and a new brew-house designed by Robert Adam was erected.⁴ Between 1765 and 1794 the sum of £3,908 4s. 7½d. was spent averaging £130 per year and giving a projected total of £4,222.⁵ Annual expenditure in this department rose from

1. D/DBy A45/9/87.

2. D/DBy A44/9/86. For a discussion of the different wines see Simon, *op.cit.*

3. See, P. Mathias, The Brewing Industry in England 1700-1830 (1959).

4. D/DBy A365.

5. D/DBy A196-226, see appendix 28.

£45 18s. 8d. in 1766¹ to £227 16s. 8½d. in 1794.² From 1768 these payments included cider as well as beer, and although some beer was purchased, the bulk of it was home brewed. The actual brewing per month varied from as infrequently as only once in 1782,³ to entries for ten months in 1769.⁴ The brewer throughout the period was Bennet Reeves, whose longevity of service suggests that his particular brew met with the approval of the Audley End household in general, and with his master's in particular.

As well as giving regular employment to Reeve this activity also impinged on other areas. The cooper, for instance, was called in and among his many tasks he fitted the tubs for brewing, putting staves in the casks, mending and seating iron hoops and the like.⁵ On other occasions new barrels and butts were purchased. For instance Thomas Pennystone, the estate steward, acted on behalf of his master and made a number of purchases in 1765.⁶ He also contributed in other directions by supplying one of the essential ingredients, hops, supplying both pale and brown for the different brews.⁷ On other occasions hops were supplied by London firms, such as Nicks and Nixon, whose speciality seemed to be "best Condition Kent Hops".⁸ The other basic ingredient, malt, was supplied at local level and one of the Saffron Walden tradesmen to enjoy Griffin's

1. D/DBy A197.

2. D/DBy A225.

3. D/DBy A213.

4. D/DBy A200.

5. D/DBy A45/4/87.

6. D/DBy A23/4/65.

7. D/DBy A23/12/65.

8. D/DBy A45/4/87.

custom was one member of the Archer family.¹ Barley, drink corn and bread corn, was also cultivated on the Audley End estate including the home farm.²

But not all the beer consumed was home brewed. For instance the firm of Thomas Taylor of King Street, Golden Square, supplied beer from time to time, seven casks of unspecified beer in January 1766³ or small beer in January⁴ and February 1783⁵ and in February 1784.⁶ Another London supplier was Mr. Hawkins of Golden Square,⁷ but the quantities purchased were modest. Cider was also bought from time to time. Thomas Chappel of Southwark, who supplied 105 gallons at 1s. 2d. per gallon in April 1765,⁸ or William Hill who supplied 36 gallons of best pippin cider at 1s. 6d. per gallon in 1789.⁹

Over the period about £2 10s. per week was spent on beer and some cider. This level of consumption was necessitated not only by the maintenance of some twenty eight domestic servants but also by the other activities on the estate and park and rebuilding of the great house itself, all of which made heavy demands on a labour force. For although it is probable that quantities consumed over and above the allowance were paid

1. D/DBy A50/12/92.

2. See Part IV.

3. D/DBy A24/1/66.

4. D/DBy A41/1/83.

5. D/DBy A41/2/83.

6. D/DBy A42/2/84.

7. D/DBy A44/2/86.

8. D/DBy A24/1/67.

9. D/DBy A47/6/89.

for,¹ it is also probable that with such a large labour force engaged over many years the demand for this staple commodity would have been very considerable. Further, when the occasion warranted, Sir John was ready to direct a strong brew to celebrate a worthy cause, such as Howe's famous victory, in 1794.²

It was also the master's responsibility to clothe some of those persons in his service, and although dress was not uniform amongst this occupational group the "clothing worn by servants was, after all, more visible than either their living quarters or their diet".³ There was a diversity of dress worn within the household and this was in part due to the division of labour but partly because it was considered that the servant's appearance should express his or her position within the servant hierarchy. But although the senior staff might be dressed much like their employer, others whose duties were more public were the vehicle through which the master might "display his wealth on the backs of his liveried staff".⁴

At Audley End, between 1766⁵ and 1794, the sum of £3,175 was spent on servants' clothing averaging at £112 per year and giving a projected total of £3,401.⁶ Annual payments varied between £36 13s. 6d. in 1777⁷

1. D/DBy A46/5/88.

2. See Part 1, chapter 2.

3. Hecht, op.cit., 120.

4. Phyllis Cunningham & Catherine Lucas, Occupational Costume in England From the 11th Century to 1914 (1967), 156.

5. Liveries and wages were not separated in 1765.

6. D/DBy A197-226, see appendix 29.

7. D/DBy A207.

to £151 15s. in 1775,¹ and on a monthly basis from as little as 5s. 6d. in January 1766² to £122 7s. 6d. in November of the same year.³

Generally purchases were spread over the year rather than livery being obtained at a particular time. The usual pattern was for livery materials to be purchased from a number of tradesmen some of whom also supplied members of the family with their needs. One such person was John Davenport who supplied over £89 worth in 1766,⁴ over £28 in 1769,⁵ and over £14 in 1770.⁶ Another firm was that of Messers Roberts and Sheppey whose bill in July 1770 came to over £40,⁷ in June 1775 to over £49⁸ and further quantities in December of the same year.⁹ Some of these bills mention the different items such as the green shalloon and drab coloured livery cloth,¹⁰ livery lace,¹¹ frocks,¹² hats,¹³ caps,¹⁴ and livery buttons, on one occasion coming from a Mr. Taylor of Birmingham who

1. D/DBy A206.
2. D/DBy A197.
3. Ibid.
4. D/DBy A24/11/66.
5. D/DBy A200.
6. D/DBy A201.
7. D/DBy A201.
8. D/DBy A206.
9. Ibid.
10. D/DBy A46/6/88.
11. D/DBy A197: November 1766.
12. Ibid.: June 1766.
13. D/DBy A200: April 1769.
14. D/DBy A201: January 1770.

supplied six double gross of them.¹ Other bills specify the member of staff for whom the particular livery was intended. In July 1769 for instance green livery cloth was purchased for garments to be made for the gamekeeper and huntsman.² In January 1770 livery caps were bought for the coachman and postillion and the latter also got two flannel waistcoats.³ In 1791 the "little" postillion was fitted out with a new hat, a pair of gloves, boots and shoes".⁴ On other occasions garments were mended such as a waistcoat for the coachman, a coat for the groom, a jacket for the postillion and a coat, jacket and waistcoat for the footman.⁵ Understandably a very considerable amount of tailoring work was necessary and two such persons to enjoy Griffin's custom were a Mr. Searle⁶ and a Mr. Cook.⁷ When some of the liveries were renewed allowances were made for the old suits⁸ or they were reimbursed for "their old livery frocks & westcoats to give to poor men",⁹ which suggests perhaps that Griffin was concerned that his staff should be seen to be well dressed.¹⁰

A separate section entitled apparel recorded the amount spent on

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1. D/DBy A206: February 1775.
 2. D/DBy A200: see also the gamekeeper's contracts above.
 3. D/DBy A201.
 4. D/DBy A222: November and December 1791.
 5. D/DBy A45/6/87.
 6. D/DBy A215: September 1784.
 7. D/DBy A200: April 1769.
 8. D/DBy A201.
 9. D/DBy A202: March 1771.
 10. Hecht, op.cit., 123; "As a group, they remained extremely well dressed throughout the period".

materials and clothes purchased mainly for Sir John and Lady Griffin. Between 1765 and 1794 the sum of £3,550 17s. 5d. was spent averaging £118 per annum and giving a projected total of £3,788.¹ The least spent in any one year was £64. 0s. 6d. in 1769² and the most in 1766 when the sum was £302. 5s. 5d.³ On a monthly basis this might vary from as little as 1s. in July 1774⁴ to as much as £207 7s. 6d. in November 1766.⁵

Due to the practice⁶ of purchasing quantities of material to be followed by tailoring work, a number of bills frequently came in at about the same time. For example in April 1765 cloth costing £15 4s. was purchased from John Davenport; mercery goods from Mr. Palmer amounted to £18 8s.; Mr. Plumpton the milliner supplied goods to the value of £28 2s.; Mr. Yeats the hosier's bill came to £3 0s. 7d.; and finally Mr. Regnier was paid £51 15s. for tailoring work.⁷ Other vouchers record the individual articles purchased. These included a variety of wigs,⁸ shirts,⁹ waistcoats,¹⁰ silk breeches,¹¹ boots,¹² buttons, garters, hats,

1. D/DBy A196-226, see appendix 30.

2. D/DBy A200.

3. D/DBy A197.

4. D/DBy A205.

5. D/DBy A197.

6. See, Iris Brooke & J. Laver, English Costume of the Eighteenth Century (1945); T. Hughes, "Costume", in Johnson's England, 1, 384-405.

7. D/DBy A196: April 1765.

8. D/DBy A23/9/65.

9. D/DBy A214: May 1783.

10. D/DBy A215: June 1784.

11. D/DBy A220: May 1789.

12. D/DBy A222: February 1791.

stockings,¹ buckles,² or on occasions military uniform.³ Yet on other occasions the bills mention Griffin, for instance a "bill for Cambrick for Ruffles for my master by Mr. Pincott",⁴ or "To cash paid by Lady for Pocket Handkerchifes for my master".⁵

That the relationship between master and servant might develop into a family bond is perhaps evidenced by the concern shown for the health of members of the household. "Employers who were willing to go to the trouble and expense of having their servants properly looked after in time of illness could scarcely have been indifferent to the way they were fed, clothed and housed".⁶ The well being of the household in terms of the health of its members was carefully recorded being given a separate section. Between 1765 and 1794 the sum of £965 16s. 10d. was spent averaging almost £32 per year and giving a projected total of £1,030 per annum.⁷ Unlike some other sections understandably there is no even pattern in expenditure and monthly outgoings varied from as little as 1s. 6d. in March 1775⁸ to as much as £44 7s. 6d. in April 1792.⁹ These figures suggest a healthy or unhealthy period within the household, but are not always precise due to the time lag between the time when the doctor or apothecary was actually

1. D/DBy A219: December 1788.
2. D/DBy A198: December 1767.
3. D/DBy A217: November 1786.
4. D/DBy A203: December 1772.
5. D/DBy A214: July 1783.
6. Hecht, op.cit., 98.
7. D/DBy A196-226, see appendix 31.
8. D/DBy A206.
9. D/DBy A223.

called in to the time when the bill was settled. The payments also include a standing fee paid for services rendered over the year. Over the period five apothecaries¹ served both members of the family and servants, and although it was in the interest of the master and mistress to ensure that the staff enjoyed good health, it is no less true to suggest that as part of a nobleman's household they enjoyed many facilities that would have been denied them in another station.

One apothecary was Robert Mapletoft, probably a local man. His attendances included bleeding James Button and applying a "discutient limbrocation" after he had sustained a fall from a waggon at the end of May 1765;² bleeding the coachman and dressing his hand, giving purging pills to the housekeeper and drawing the cook's tooth.³ Another apothecary, William Fordyce, gave a powder to one of the maids, a gargle to Charles Higgins and a purging powder to the cook.⁴ Yet another apothecary, William Wootton, gave an "Electary" to one servant, a draught to another and opening powder to Higgins.⁵ Nor was medical attention confined to the great house. In June 1784 the postillion was taken to the "small pox hospital",⁶ another was sent to London and his board was paid while he received advice over his eyes,⁷ and yet another was sent to be inoculated.⁸

1. See, Sir D'Arcy Power, "Medicine" in Johnson's England, 11, 265-286.

2. D/DBy A23/5/65.

3. D/DBy A23/7/65.

4. D/DBy A24/11/66.

5. D/DBy A33/11/75.

6. D/DBy A215: June 1784.

7. D/DBy A225: February 1794.

8. D/DBy A197: January 1766: To this can be added that some of the Town house servants were sent to Audley End for "Easter Hollidays", see D/DBy A200, 31 March 1769.

As far as the family was concerned the first Lady Griffin's last illness was recorded and among the items mentioned are antiseptic drops, "the vomit", doses of pills, strenthening draughts, and one of the apothecary's expenses in attending her Ladyship.¹ The second Lady Griffin was considerably younger than her husband and she seems to have enjoyed reasonably good health. Among the "cures" prescribed were opening draughts, powder valerian, asperiant pills and mixture, purging portions and paper of Columbo root.² Despite his serious wound sustained during the Seven Years' War Sir John seems to have made a near complete recovery although he, too, from time to time was supplied with such "cures" as powder of bark, emetic, opening medicine, draughts, asperient pills and mixture, papers of rhubarb and so on.³ He enjoyed a long and active life in which he showed an appetite for outdoor activities and hunting, shooting, fishing, and riding around the estate were very much a part of his world as attending Parliament and executing his other duties.

Indeed, the household as well as portraying the role of the landowner as a provider also reflects the activities and interests of the individual member of the ruling group. The gamekeeper's detailed contracts, mentioned above, suggest that his department was an important one in the Audley End household, and this is confirmed by the attention to what Higgins in his account books called "Game" and which included shooting, hunting and the menagerie. Between 1766 and 1794 the sum of £4,153 18s. 3³/₄d. was spent in this department averaging £143 per annum and giving a projected

1. D/DBy A24/11/66.

2. D/DBy A24/11/66; A38/12/80; A44/10/86; A44/12/86; A48/4/90.

3. D/DBy A23/9/65; A24/11/66; A33/1/75; A34/1/76; A38/12/80; A44/12/86; A44/10/86.

total of £4,518.¹ On an annual basis the lowest expenditure was £45 8s. 1d. in 1769,² and the highest £201 17s. 1½d. in 1794.³

The first gamekeeper was a George Lemon⁴ and he was succeeded by a William Gibson.⁵ By 1766 John Chapman had arrived and he remained in Griffin's service for the remainder of the period. His several contracts indicate not only the conditions of his service but also portray some of the duties that he was expected to undertake.⁶ For a number of years a huntsman named Charles Dawkins and a menagerie man were employed and the growing activity in this department is also reflected by the employment of additional help from time to time.⁷ The individual vouchers add further details to some of the tasks carried out by Chapman and his staff. The procuring of horse flesh, rye, barley, milk, bread, for the seven pointers and three greyhounds; peas for the pigeons; buckwheat for the pheasants and other birds in the menagerie, beans for the deer in the park.⁸ Much of the food was purchased from the home farm although he also dealt

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1. D/DBy A197-226, see appendix 32.
 2. D/DBy A200.
 3. D/DBy A225.
 4. D/DBy A23/1-4/65.
 5. D/DBy A24/1/66.
 6. See above.
 7. D/DBy A47/5/89; at this time the menagerie man was paid £25 per annum. For additional help see D/DBy A42/12/84 for example.
 8. Among the birds were various types of pheasant, partridge, pigeon, parrot, goldfinch, nightingale, see D/DBy A45/2/87; A45/6/87; A45/8/87; A46/12/88; A47/5/89; A48/11/90: there was also a deer house in the park: A54/3/96.

with some of the local tradesmen. Buying ammunition¹ and shot "for my master's use"²; keeping his guns in good order; purchasing fishing tackle,³ lark, hawk, partridge and pheasant nets;⁴ paying game preservation subscriptions;⁵ taking action against poachers;⁶ killing vermin; obtaining young foxes;⁷ and breeding fowls on the river.⁸ He also travelled on behalf of his master for instance delivering hares and fetching a calf from his master's friend Richard Neville at Billingbear in Berkshire. On this particular occasion his travels involved a stop at Sawbridgeworth for beer, bread and cheese for himself and corn for the horse; beer, supper and breakfast at the White Hart, Woodford; dinner and beer at mid-day; turnpike charges; a further night's supper and then breakfast and similar expenses for the return journey. Chapman submitted a travelling claim for £1 19s. 10d.⁹ Although he does not seem to have kept an account book most of his activities were recorded on the vouchers and submitted initially to Charles Higgins for scrutiny. That he travelled, was allowed the use of two horses¹⁰ and occupied his own house on the estate

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1. D/DBy A45/9/87.
 2. D/DBy A203.
 3. D/DBy A30/6/72.
 4. D/DBy A51/7/93; A199.
 5. D/DBy A54/2/96.
 6. D/DBy A34/9/76.
 7. D/DBy A197.
 8. D/DBy A209.
 9. D/DBy A48/12/90.
 10. See contract above.

all point to the importance of his position in the Audley End hierarchy. His longevity of service suggests that he gave satisfaction and that his master was able to enjoy the outdoor activities of shooting pheasant and partridge, hare coursing, hunting, and the improvement to the river Cam running through the park facilitated good fishing.¹

Occupying the same position as the kennels were the stables, standing to the west and slightly north of the house.² Between 1765 and 1794 the sum of £16,562 16s. 3d. was spent in this department, averaging £552 per annum and giving a projected total of £17,822.³ The least spent was £349 17s. 5½d. in 1768⁴ and the most two years earlier in 1766 when it was £917 4s. 1½d.⁵, and on a monthly basis this varied from £10 to over £200.⁶ This very high level of expenditure is partly explained by the social standing and interest of the owner and partly by his army career as he was colonel of the First Troop Horse Grenadier Guards between 1766 and 1788.⁷ This department contrasts with most of the others as there was a greater turn-over of staff.⁸ There were at least half a dozen different coachmen during the period and the composition also changed from two coachmen, two postillions, a groom and a whipper-in, as well as

1. E.D. Cuming, "Sports and Games" in Johnson's England, 1, 362-383.

2. D/DBy T/M 123; E.R.O. D/DBy 8.

3. D/DBy A196-226, see appendix 32.

4. D/DBy A199.

5. D/DBy A197.

6. D/DBy A197; September and March 1766.

7. See Part 1, chapter 2.

8. For example see D/DBy A23/2/65; A26/10/68; A28/9/70; A35/2/77; A37/12/79; A38/12/80; A40/12/82.

employing extra help from time to time.¹

Likewise the size of the stables in terms of horses varied, sixteen² at one time and eleven³ at another. However it is clear that there were usually sufficient horses for the stables to be organised under the groom's stable, the coachman's stable and the common stable.⁴ Although occasionally horses were hired⁵ the vouchers record the purchase of the different types of horses over the years. In July 1770 a pair of brown coach horses were purchased for £48;⁶ in March 1771 £35 was paid for a bay gelding⁷ and in November a bay was procured for Lady Griffin costing £15 18s.⁸; in the following March £26 5s. was paid for a Tartar gelding;⁹ in March 1783 three black geldings were purchased for £113;¹⁰ in 1790 a pair of black geldings "warranted sound" were bought for £100;¹¹ in May 1791 four grey ponies cost £37 16s.¹² On other occasions horses were

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1. For instance in October 1788 three labourers were employed; see D/DBy A46/10/88.
 2. D/DBy A48/4/90.
 3. D/DBy A55/4/97.
 4. D/DBy A46/2/88; A30/7/72; A30/11/72; the last document also mentions a colts' stable.
 5. D/DBy A25/3/67.
 6. D/DBy A28/7/70.
 7. D/DBy A29/3/71.
 8. D/DBy A29/11/71.
 9. D/DBy A30/3/72.
 10. D/DBy A41/3/83.
 11. D/DBy A48/5/90.
 12. D/DBy A49/5/91.

purchased for regimental purposes. In March 1782 two troop horses were supplied¹ and in June 1788 Griffin paid £100 through his adjunct for four troop horses.² The name of his adjunct, Wheatley, also appears quite frequently in connection with the stabling of troop horses.³ Sir John also rented a stable in Town. In January 1766 Mr. Blagrove was paid £50 for "five quarters" rent for stables and coach houses near Golden Square.⁴ By June 1787 he was paying Mr. Nash £28 10s. for half a year's rent for stables and coach houses at Crane Yard, Leicester Street,⁵ and in 1795 Thomas Smallbones was called in to survey "the dilapidation of your Lordship's Stable in Leicester Mews held on lease from Mr. Nash a particular description of the same", for which work he was paid one guinea.⁶ The vouchers for this department record the payment for corn, straw, oats and hay, and again much of this was supplied by the home farm⁷, and the needs of the stables impinged upon the special skills of the blacksmith,⁸ saddler,⁹ wheelwright,¹⁰ collarmaker¹¹ and the farrier.¹²

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1. D/DBy A40/3/82.
 2. D/DBy A46/6/88.
 3. D/DBy A30/12/72.
 4. D/DBy A24/1/66.
 5. D/DBy A45/6/87.
 6. D/DBy A53/11/95.
 7. D/DBy A29/8/71; A29/11/71; A30/9/72.
 8. D/DBy A26/9/68.
 9. D/DBy A27/6/69.
 10. D/DBy A27/5/69.
 11. D/DBy A45/7/87.
 12. D/DBy A27/3/69.

The latter's work in particular indicates the attention lavished on the horses from time to time, such as applying oils to a saddle horse's shoulder, giving purges to coach and saddle horses, dressing Sir John's riding horse's eye, and providing strong spirits and wine "for a favourite horse".¹

That this should be so was understandable for the possession of stables, horses and the appropriate liveried servants were the symbols of social standing and a sign of what Professor Thompson has called "prosperous competence".² To this list can be added the family coach which "served admirably for the display of livery".³ In 1765 Griffin possessed four four wheel carriages and one two wheel carriage;⁴ in 1772 the composition had changed to five four wheel carriages;⁵ and by 1781 there were six four wheel carriages.⁶ At the time of his death five four wheel carriages are recorded and they were assessed at £7 each per year for tax purposes.⁷

In 1765 work was begun on overhauling one of his coaches. The task was undertaken by the firm of Ringstead and Poole and the bill came to £103 15s. 8d.,⁸ and further work was carried out in the same year by Joseph

1. D/DBy A45/7/87.

2. Thompson, Landed Society, 1.

3. Cunningham & Lucas, op.cit., 173.

4. D/DBy A23/9/65.

5. D/DBy A30/6/72.

6. D/DBy A39/10/81.

7. D/DBy A55/4/97: Lady Griffin also had a sedan chair. A new one made for her in 1765 cost £57 1s. 6d. and £10 was allowed for the old one; D/DBy A24/2/66.

8. D/DBy A23/4/65.

Edmonton.¹ On another occasion he purchased a second hand phaeton for fifteen guineas,² and at another time traded in one of his old coaches against a new one.³ Fifteen guineas was allowed for the old one and the new coach was built by Mr. Benwell for £143 6s. after the deduction. The new coach was painted a dark brown with the family arms on the door panels in buff and was well varnished. It was lined with a super fine buff colour and trimmed with the best worsted lace. The leather was japanned and there were handsome head plates. There were mahogany shutters, double steps trimmed with red leather and wainscot under the seats. This body was hung on a light but strong perch carriage with the best German steel springs, iron axles screwed at the ends and leather boxes, and it was to be drawn by four horses. Another coachmaker to enjoy Griffin's custom was John Hatchet, who also enjoyed royal patronage. On one occasion he supplied a new coach costing £209 9s.⁴ and on another a coach costing £223 1s.⁵ This second coach was made of the best materials and was of the most fashionable shape, the framing of the body was neatly fluted, and among its many other features were its fine buff coloured cloth, lace trimmings, four large diamond cut glass plates, Venitian blinds, all the wood was neatly carved, the iron work town made, and the body painted a fine chocolate brown and the carriage and wheels buff. The arms were displayed on the doors and the crests on the ends and footboards and Knight of the Bath star on the quarters. Drawn by

1. D/DBy A24/11/66.

2. D/DBy A49/4/91.

3. D/DBy A45/2/87.

4. D/DBy A43/7/85.

5. D/DBy A49/9/91: this amount included modifications.

six horses there can be little doubt that this magnificent vehicle brought a sense of pride to its liveried handlers as well as symbolising the social standing of its owner and advertising his professional advancement.

With so many carriages and two establishments it is not surprising that there should also be a fair amount of travelling of one sort or another. Charles Higgins certainly considered that the movement of persons and materials warranted a separate section in his account books. Between 1765 and 1794 the sum of £6,919 14s. 4½d. was spent averaging £230 per annum and giving a projected total of £7,412.¹ The lowest figure was in 1792 when the amount was £126 2s. 0d.² and the highest in 1785 when the figure was £380 15s. 7d.³ As might be expected some expenditure is recorded for most months although this varied from as little as £1 2s. 2d. in July 1768⁴ to as much as £110 2s. 3½d. in August 1770.⁵

As far as the master and his Lady were concerned only occasionally are there direct references to their movements. For example in July 1776 there is mention of a tour to Peterborough,⁶ on another occasion travelling to Oxford⁷ and on yet another occasion travelling into Kent.⁸ The comings and goings of members of the Whitwell and Clayton families are also recorded.⁹ The member of the household who was responsible

1. D/DBy A196-226, see appendix 34.

2. D/DBy A223.

3. D/DBy A216.

4. D/DBy A199.

5. D/DBy A201.

6. D/DBy A207.

7. D/DBy A224.

8. Ibid.

9. D/DBy A201: June 1770; A219: April 1788.

for initially recording travelling expenses for the family was the valet de chambre, but regrettably his detailed accounts have not survived and it is the abstract entries that found their way into Higgins' accounts. However the considerable payments made to this person indicate the extent of Sir John and Lady Griffin's activities. For example the Peterborough tour cost £74 19s.,¹ payments in August, September and October in 1776 came to £71 14s.,² and in September 1789 his travel accounts totalled £85 10s. 9½d.³ Other sources however record visits to Bath, Tonbridge, Harleyford in Buckinghamshire, Billingsbear in Berkshire and Exeter to visit his brother Mathew and Hurstbourne Park in Hampshire as well as the regular journies between Audley End and Burlington Street.⁴

It was along the Audley End to London road that most of the domestic staff travelled from time to time. Charles Higgins in particular frequently made this journey, sometimes alone and at other times in company with lesser servants.⁵ Another senior member of the staff to travel on a regular basis to the capital was Martin Nockold the bailiff who organised and frequently supervised the carriage of the family goods between the country and Town residences.⁶ The housekeeper, too, seems to have travelled quite frequently,⁷ and other entries indicate that individual servants sometimes went by chaise marine⁸ and on other occasions "by my

1. D/DBy A207.

2. Ibid.

3. D/DBy A220.

4. For further details see Part 1, chapters 2-5.

5. D/DBy A196: April 1765; A201: April 1770.

6. For example, D/DBy A210: January 1779.

7. For example, D/DBy A196: January 1765.

8. D/DBy A210: April 1779.

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master's coach".¹ It is clear that there was a doubling up and only a skeleton staff was left at the Town house when the family was in the country. On other occasions the master's business took some of the staff to places other than the capital. For example, Charles Higgins is recorded as "goeing to Cambridge about Coals",² the huntsman was sent to bring "the little grey horse home",³ another to fetch a boat at Bishops Stortford,⁴ and another to get a sick horse left at Norwich.⁵

What emerges from these particular accounts is the hustle and bustle of a way of life that not only centred around two establishments, but also the demands that made on the staff who managed these establishments, and on whose careful organisation the smooth progression of persons, food and other goods between the country seat and London depended. That such details were meticulously recorded is in itself an indication of the importance attached to this aspect of the economy of a Georgian household in its widest sense. It is equally clear that through Higgins Griffin was able to exercise a close control over the movement of his staff, and in the light of the total sum spent in this sphere, that movement was not inconsiderable.

There is finally the section entitled books, newspapers and stationery. Between 1765 and 1794 the sum of £1,651 7s. 9³/₄d. was spent averaging £55 per annum and giving a projected total of £1,784.⁶ Annual expenditure

1. Ibid.

2. D/DBy A207: May 1776.

3. D/DBy A210: September 1779.

4. D/DBy A213: September 1782.

5. D/DBy A219: August 1788.

6. D/DBy A196-226, see appendix 35.

varied between £23 13s. 11d. in 1775¹ and £101 8s. 5½d. in 1791,² and on a monthly basis this rose from as little as 1s. 6d. in July 1781³ to as much as £56 16s. 11½d. in September 1771.⁴

Considering the considerable amount of paper work that the administration of the household needed to sustain its working efficiently over the years, it is not surprising that the purchase of stationery should warrant the house steward's attention. Different types of account books were procured for members of the family as well as for some of the individual servants. "To 3 Books Bought for my masters use for Accounts";⁵ "To an Account Book for my Lady",⁶ Among the many staff who had their own account books were Charles Higgins who on one occasion entered "To Cash paid for this Account Book" costing 2s. 6d.;⁷ the cook had a special book⁸ and one was provided for the servants' hall,⁹ a wages receipt book with one hundred and fifty two stamps,¹⁰ cellar books,¹¹ memorandum books,¹² and a special book with a lock are all recorded.¹³ Large quantities of

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1. D/DBy A206.
 2. D/DBy A222.
 3. D/DBy A212.
 4. D/DBy A202.
 5. D/DBy A198: November 1767.
 6. D/DBy A200: February 1769.
 7. D/DBy A202: January 1771.
 8. D/DBy A208: March 1777.
 9. D/DBy A219: November 1788.
 10. Ibid: December 1788.
 11. D/DBy A203: January 1772.
 12. D/DBy A200: February 1769.
 13. Ibid: May 1769.

paper were also bought for Sir John¹ and Lady Griffin², for the porter, and a slate for the dairy maid.³ Among the other stationery items were sealing wax,⁴ cartridge paper,⁵ pens, one hundred at a time, for the use of the family⁶ and for the use of the "House".⁷ Ink was usually purchased by the quart⁸ and at times ingredients for ink were purchased.⁹ Blank cards,¹⁰ cards of thanks,¹¹ gilt cards,¹² message cards,¹³ blotting paper,¹⁴ visiting books¹⁵ as well as packing¹⁶ and kitchen paper¹⁷ were all carefully entered.

Likewise with the purchase of newspapers, London and country, were meticulously recorded. Among the suppliers to enjoy Griffin's custom

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1. D/DBy A198: April 1767.
 2. Ibid: March 1767.
 3. D/DBy A202: November 1771.
 4. D/DBy A196: August 1765.
 5. D/DBy A198: February 1767.
 6. D/DBy A203: September 1772.
 7. Ibid.
 8. D/DBy A198: July 1767.
 9. D/DBy A199: November 1768.
 10. D/DBy A196: January 1765.
 11. Ibid: May 1765.
 12. D/DBy A198: June 1767.
 13. D/DBy A204: March 1773.
 14. D/DBy A199: June 1768.
 15. D/DBy A205: April 1774.
 16. D/DBy A196: April 1765.
 17. D/DBy A46/6/88.

were Bryan Marshall¹ and Bridgett Robinson.² The newspapers taken included the Gazeteer, St. James Chronicle, Daily Advertiser, Public Advertiser, Worlds Advertiser, English Chronicle as well as the Essex and Cambridge papers.³ These papers were filed for reference purposes⁴ and it is clear from following other aspects of his life and career that he was fully conversant with the growing importance of the press.⁵

During his temure of Audley End Sir John built up a considerable library. Some of these he inherited from his aunt and came from Billingsbear after her death,⁶ but others were purchased by him. Among the subjects that for one reason or another attracted his and Lady Griffin's interest were the following. As a professional soldier it is understandable that he should want to purchase military works and they included Major Bell's First Principles of War,⁷ Smith's Military Dictionary,⁸ various subscriptions towards Prince Ferdinand's Campaigns,⁹ Military Science,¹⁰ and Sime's Military Library,¹¹ and it is clear that he followed some of the military campaigns in America.¹² As a Parliamen-

1. D/DBy A11.
2. D/DBy A219: January 1788.
3. D/DBy A206: December 1775.
4. D/DBy A203: June 1772.
5. See part 1, chapters 3 & 4: also, D. Read, Press and People 1790-1850 (1961); D. Nichol Smith, "The Newspaper", in Johnson's England, 11, 331-367.
6. D/DBy C2/7.
7. D/DBy A210: November 1779.
8. D/DBy A211: January 1780.
9. D/DBy A199: September 1768.
10. D/DBy A211: March 1780.
11. D/DBy A213: December 1782.
12. D/DBy A206: August 1775; A207: November 1776.

tarian he procured Journals of the House of Commons,¹ Minutes of the House of Lords,² Debrett's Parliamentary Register,³ and copies of acts of Parliament.⁴ The Annual Register,⁵ the Gentleman's Magazine⁶ and the Court Register⁷ were also taken. As a landowner it was natural that some of the titles should reflect his interest in this sphere although it is not possible to specify whether some of these were purchased for his estate steward. Various farming books,⁸ a three volume work entitled The New System of Husbandry,⁹ The Complete Grazier,¹⁰ A Treatise on the Forcing of Early Fruits,¹¹ Stephenson's Gentleman's Gardener,¹² a gardening dictionary,¹³ botanical magazines,¹⁴ as well as literature relating to game laws¹⁵ and sporting life¹⁶ were among the many purchases made.

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1. D/DBy A201: February and April 1770.
 2. D/DBy A217: February 1786.
 3. D/DBy A218: March 1787.
 4. D/DBy A200: January 1769; A204: September 1773.
 5. D/DBy A206: August 1775.
 6. D/DBy A223: April 1792.
 7. D/DBy A199: January 1768.
 8. D/DBy A201: January 1770.
 9. D/DBy A206: March 1775.
 10. D/DBy A208: April 1777.
 11. Ibid: May 1777.
 12. D/DBy A23/5/65.
 13. D/DBy A202: April 1771.
 14. D/DBy A219: February 1788.
 15. D/DBy A23/5/65.
 16. D/DBy A23/4/65.

His interest in the arts was reflected in such titles as English Architecture,¹ Adam's Architecture,² and at a more practical level the taking of many numbers of the Builder's Magazine.³ The ancient world was represented by such works as Le Roy's Ruines de la Grèce.⁴ Heraldry included the Complete Body of Heraldry⁵ and Dugdale's Baronage,⁶ and Morant's county history of Essex⁷ and Bridges history of Northamptonshire⁸ as well as a number of works on the history of England⁹ and Europe¹⁰ were bought. Contemporary affairs were catered for by subscriptions to Revolution in France,¹¹ Canal Navigation Plans,¹² the Traders' Companion,¹³ and two volumes of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce,¹⁴ travel books¹⁵ were popular as were maps¹⁶ and guides.¹⁷ An extra copy of the New and Complete

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1. D/DBy A23/1/65.
 2. D/DBy A206: March 1775.
 3. D/DBy A207: May 1776.
 4. D/DBy A23/1/65.
 5. D/DBy A211: March 1780.
 6. D/DBy A221: April 1790.
 7. See Part 1, chapter 4: D/DBy A25/5/67.
 8. D/DBy A222: November 1791.
 9. D/DBy A208: May 1777.
 10. D/DBy A211: November 1780.
 11. D/DBy A223: October 1792.
 12. Ibid: March 1792.
 13. D/DBy A206: May 1775.
 14. D/DBy A207: October & November 1776.
 15. D/DBy A199: March 1768; A204: June 1773; A210: December 1779.
 16. D/DBy A197: March 1766; A204: May 1773; A216: June 1785.
 17. D/DBy A205; March & July 1774.

Guide to London was purchased for the porter's use. Literature was well represented including Bell's Lives of Milton,¹ Pope,² Dryden,³ Spencer,⁴ Swift,⁵ Addison,⁶ as well as his Lives of the poets,⁷ and a number of contemporary plays were purchased, some specifically for Lady Griffin.⁸ Books on religion included Dr. Clarke's Paraphrase of the Four Evangelists,⁹ Blair's Sermons,¹⁰ prayer books,¹¹ psalm books,¹² and a "School Bible for Little Postillion",¹³ There are also references to medical works,¹⁴ mathematics,¹⁵ philosophy¹⁶ and science.¹⁷

But as well as the purchase of books there was also the binding and during part of this period there was a boom in the West End bookbinding

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1. D/DBy A208: May 1777.
 2. Ibid.
 3. Ibid: June 1777.
 4. D/DBy A209: February 1778.
 5. Ibid: July 1778.
 6. Ibid: October 1778.
 7. D/DBy A210: November 1779.
 8. D/DBy A197: March 1766; A199: March 1768.
 9. D/DBy A208: August 1777.
 10. D/DBy A209: June 1778.
 11. D/DBy A204: September 1773.
 12. D/DBy A222: January 1791.
 13. D/DBy A224: December 1793.
 14. D/DBy A202: August 1771.
 15. D/DBy A211: May 1780.
 16. D/DBy A204: May 1773.
 17. D/DBy A209: July 1778.

trade.¹ Generally the books were bound in London and there are frequent references to the actual binding process.² However there were occasions when specialist binders travelled to Audley End and one such instance mentions that three of them were there for seven weeks during which time eggs and flour among other ingredients were used in the process of binding, lettering and ornamenting books.³ The collection of books and the building up of a library had long been associated with the nobleman and his mansion, and although motives for doing so varied, by the eighteenth century the nobleman's books would be clothed in half or full morocco, often with elaborate gold tooling. The library at Audley End formed part of the south wing ground floor suite decorated to Adam's designs, and the crimson and gold bindings of Griffin's books were designed to harmonize with Adam's schemes for in "interiors the keynote is unity of effect, due to the architect having taken the finishing and fitting of the room into his province".⁴ Many of these books can still be seen in the present library at Audley End. All in all, the books purchased by Griffin reflect a general rather than a specialist interest in any one field.

It was not possible to run an establishment for less than several thousand pounds a year and Professor Mingay⁵ has estimated that the

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1. See, R.W. Chapman, "Authors and Booksellers" in Johnson's England, 11, 310-330; H.M.Nixon, "Bookbinding", in Connoisseur's Period Guide, 999-1000, and R. Maclean 'Printing', Ibid, 1000-1004.
 2. D/DBy A198: November 1767.
 3. D/DBy A202: September 1771.
 4. M. Jourdain, English Decoration and Furniture of the Later XVIIIth Century (1760-1820) (1922), 23. See also Part II.
 5. Mingay, Landed Society, 161.

expenditure of about five or six thousand pounds a year seems to have been the usual outlay for a great landlord. The total expenditure in part reflected the circumstances of the family and understandably varied from one nobleman's household to another. For example, the household and miscellaneous expenditure of the Duke of Portland rose from £4,000 in 1784 to £12,000 in 1797;¹ at Thoresby the annual running costs between 1760 and 1772 varied from £3,666 19s. 5½d. in 1763 to £16,067 4s. 3d. in 1771.² Of Sir John's total expenditure of £381,504, the household amounted to £105,677. Accounting for considerably over a quarter of his total output this averaged at £3,302 per annum between 1765 and 1797, and included both establishments, country and Town, but this figure does not include the estate, and the house.³ At other households there was a separation of establishments but annual expenditure might also include the house and estate.

The amounts spent in each section understandably varied from household to household and in part reflected the interests of the family. In 1759 the Marquess of Rockingham spent more on his stables and kermels than on house-keeping, and the Duke of Kingston, it has been estimated, spent large sums in transforming a small river into a lake with artificial waterfalls, yachts and model warships manned by professional seamen.⁴ At Audley End less was spent on books than in any other section except health. That

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1. Habakkuk, "England", in European Mobility in the Eighteenth Century, 10.
 2. Notts. Univ. Dept. Mss.: Manvers MSS.M4419-21.
 3. Although the houses are included in these account books, I have treated them separately for present purposes.
 4. Mingay, op.cit., 160: Sir John contented himself with a "very neat pleasure skiff of English oak" costing in all £56 17s. 4d; D/DBy A54/12/96.

there was no comparable figure to the gamekeeper and huntsman is not surprising for Griffin was not a man of letters, but was essentially a man of action who enjoyed the pursuits of an outdoor life. The section that is relatively high at Audley End is the stables, explained partly by his professional career, social standing and interests. On the question of relativities¹ within the house, housekeeping, including toiletries, stores and contingencies, came top of the table accounting for about 28.9 per cent of the global sum. The stables came second with a 16.8 per cent share and servants' wages a close third with 16.0 per cent. All other sections came below eight per cent. Travel accounted for 7 per cent; fuel for 5.5 per cent; wine for 4.9 per cent; game for 4.2 per cent and beer for 3.9 per cent; apparel for 3.4 per cent; liveries for 3.2 per cent; lighting for 2.5 per cent; books and stationery for 1.6 per cent; and health for 0.9 per cent.

The total expenditure of the household and the accumulated expenditure of this landowning group had repercussions beyond the framework of the household and boundary of the estate. The maintenance of town and country establishments at group level had a bearing on the economy of the capital² as well as on the part of the country in which the great house was situated. It was Malthus'³ view that as a group the English landowners were pre-eminently consumers and one modern authority⁴ has given it

1. See appendix 36.

2. M. Beloff, Public Order and Public Disturbance, 1660-1714 (1938), 29.

3. T.R. Malthus, The Principles of Political Economy (1951 ed.), 316-328.

4. H.J. Habakkuk, "Economic Functions of English Landowners in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries", in W.E. Minchinton (ed.), Essays in Agrarian History (1968), 1,200.

as his opinion that although there were numerous exceptions, there is little doubt that Malthus was right. Further, Malthus also recognised that the existence of this group sustained effectual demand which in turn had the effect of stimulating economic progress. Indeed, the landowners' large scale consumption might well have had an effect in not only maintaining the level of total demand, but also in helping make the transition of the economy from agrarian to industrial a smoother progression than it might otherwise have been. Yet other scholars have emphasised consumer demand in the home market as one explanation of economic growth and have recognised the part played by the wealthy household in increasing the scope even of the industrial market. "Whilst the rich might have bought little for their personal use that was mass-produced, their households needed metal and textile manufactures, their servants needed dress and equipment and the building of their houses involved increasing consumption of glass, iron, lead, and brass".¹ Indeed, another scholar² has discussed the "multiplier effects" that the building activities of this group had upon the economy, and the historian³ of the domestic servant class in his

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1. D.E.C. Eversley, "The Home Market and Economic Growth in England, 1750-80" in Jones & Mingay, (ed.), Land Labour and Population in the Industrial Revolution, 212: see also, W. Bowden, Industrial Society in England towards the end of the Eighteenth Century (1965), 66: this scholar mentions the "very great increase of wealth and consequent expansion of demand for consumption goods at home". He also quotes a contemporary source of 1767: "...whoever will look into the possessions and expenses of individuals, their houses, furniture, tables, equipages, parks, gardens, cloths, plate, and jewels, will find everywhere round him sufficient marks to testify to the truth of this proposition".
 2. Thompson, "Landownership and economic growth in England in the eighteenth century", in Jones & Woolf (ed.), Agrarian Change and Economic Development The Historical Problem, 57: see also Part 1, chapter 4.
 3. Hecht, op.cit., 200-228.

discussion of the role of this occupational group in the process of cultural change mentions certain native products, standards of dress, personal cleanliness, and this not only from class to class but also from city to country. To this must be added that the rich did buy what Dr. Eversley has called "common consumer goods",¹ candles, paper, starch, soap, beer, malt, hops and spirit, and the purchase of coal in particular impinged directly upon the industrial market. Indeed, the same scholar has warned that few commodities can be considered as being for the consumption of the rich only.² As far as Sir John's household expenditure was concerned, it is clear that most of the £105,677 was spent on housekeeping, paying his staff and on common consumer goods. Even in those other areas that reflected his social standing and particular interests cash spent had the effect of sustaining the incomes of tradesmen and craftsmen at both local and national levels. But as well as being agents of conspicuous consumption, some members of this group were also agents of investment.

1. Eversley, "Home Market", op.cit., 248.

2. Ibid, 212.

PART IV : THE ESTATE.

Of Sir John's total output of £381,564, the estate accounted for £96,100 and home farm activities for £21,627, making a total of £117,727. Thus more was spent on the estate side than on either the house or household and this amounted to slightly less than one third of his total expenditure. This analysis will raise two basic questions: what was the nature of Griffin's estate policy; and did he manage his estates efficiently? Answers to these questions will enable us to see how one landowner coped with the business of his estate and it is hoped that "some insight into the workings of a landowner's mind will be achieved".¹ The evidence on which this examination is based includes estate correspondence, title deeds, surveys and maps, manorial records, estate and farm accounts, and what Professor Hoskins has called "scrambling on foot wherever the trail may lead".² This analysis of the Audley End estate will evolve around the following criteria: administration; development; farms and tenants; home farm; and finances. It is hoped that this approach will show whether the estate was seen primarily as a unit of management rather than a unit of consumption, for stemming from this came a business-like approach which in turn saw the estate as something more than a unit of ownership.³

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1. D. Spring, The English Landed Estate in the Nineteenth Century: Its Administration (Baltimore 1963), 20.
 2. W.G. Hoskins, The Making of the English Landscape (1967), 14: these other records will be discussed below.
 3. Thompson, English Landed Society, 153-54.

(1) Administration.

It is generally accepted that although efficiency in administration was a vitally important element in estate administration, "much depended on the landlord himself".¹ Professor Mingay has written that the "wise landlord kept an eye on his affairs, inspected his properties and his accounts personally, and saw that all was as it should be. He put his estate first and devoted to it a fair share of his time and money". There is solid evidence to show that along with his house and household, Griffin did put his estate before either politics or pleasure and that he devoted to it a large proportion of his money and a good deal of his time. Such personal concern was no doubt facilitated by the comparatively small size and compact nature of his estate,² but his unflagging interest is in keeping with what is known of his consistent policies in other areas, and within this limited framework it is clear that he was his own "supreme managing director".³

That he devoted much of his time in personally seeing to estate affairs is partly evidenced by the estate correspondence for most of the letters were written by Griffin himself. Added to this one must bear in mind Professor Thompson's comment that "so much might be carried in the owner's head or settled verbally".⁴ Suffice here to say that it was he who initiated policy and who generally retained control of such policy until concluded. The estate records indicate clearly that he kept his finger firmly on the pulse of the estate throughout his stewardship, and

1. Mingay, English Landed Society, 59.

2. See below.

3. Thompson, op.cit., 168.

4. Ibid, 168.

there is evidence to show him riding around his properties with map in hand.¹ Likewise the correspondence reveals that not only were his tenants known to him but that he was familiar with some of the details of their domestic activities.² Indeed, it might be said of him as of Lord Ashburnham,³ that in both his estate and private affairs he was a model of industry and generally of efficiency. Neither would a comparison with the 7th Duke of Bedford be out of place in so far as making plans for after his own day was concerned. For as with the Duke, so, too, with Griffin, the "idea of trusteeship - of maintaining the estate for the benefit of its future owners and its present and future occupiers - struck a responsive chord".⁴

But Professor Thompson⁵ has also stated that "it remains difficult to generalise about the division of managerial function between landowners and their agents", suggesting that on an efficient and improving estate it was normal to find an active owner as well as an efficient agent engaged in joint enterprise. Although comparatively small the Audley End estate falls administratively into the second of the two types used by Professor Spring.⁶ The distinctive mark of this second class of estate hinged on

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1. For example: D/DBy E 19(B), 1 May 1782; D/DBy E 40, 31 October 1783; 3 November 1783 and 7 November 1783.
 2. D/DBy C3/28: in this letter to his friend Richard Neville, dated January 1773, he mentioned one of his tenants who was over eighty years old and who "You have heard Me speak of who has had five wives - by his last - whom he married at about 70 Years of Age (himself I mean) he has Three or Four very fine & healthy Children."
 3. Mingay, op.cit., 63: Griffin operated on a smaller scale.
 4. Spring, op.cit., 51-2.
 5. Thompson, op.cit., 176 and also 151.
 6. Spring, op.cit., 3: see also, D/DBy E 40, 31 October 1783.

the employment of a resident land agent to whom considerable authority was delegated. But although the steward was a person of growing importance during the eighteenth century,¹ it must not be supposed that the employment of a full time official automatically solved all the problems of estate management or served to increase estate revenue.² Indeed, not all estate stewards were honest or reliable as is evident from some contemporary opinion,³ and as a result technical qualifications were sometimes a less important consideration than an impeachable character.⁴ However, a reliable steward might serve one family for the whole of his life and in so doing formed an essential element of continuity in the administration of a property. This was the case at Audley End.

Two generations of Pennystones were estate stewards at Audley End for most of the eighteenth century. An old Essex family they had been in Saffron Walden at least since 1654.⁵ Thomas Pennystone, the elder, was admitted to the lands of his father, Anthony Pennystone, in 1703, and Thomas Pennystone, the younger, in turn was admitted to the lands of his father in 1758.⁶ The elder Thomas served as steward on the original Suffolk estate and was an important link in carrying through the adminis-

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1. E. Hughes, "The Eighteenth Century Estate Agent" in *Essays in British and Irish History in Honour of James Eadie Todd* (1949) Cromie, Moody and Guinn; G.E. Mingay, "The Eighteenth-Century Land Steward" in Land, Labour and Population in the Industrial Revolution, 3-27.
 2. Mingay, English Landed Society, 59.
 3. J. Lawrence, The Modern Land Steward (1801), 43: he recognised that in the public as well as in the private interest the estate steward should be a suitable person.
 4. Thompson, op.cit., 158.
 5. D/DBY Q 16.
 6. D/DBY T6/50.

tration culminating in the partition of the estates in 1753.¹ It would seem that he gave satisfactory service and that he was trustworthy as his son succeeded him.² The younger Pennystone was to be steward for over forty years.³ Between them, father and son, they must have built up an almost unrivalled knowledge of both estate and locality. This experience seems to confirm Professor Mingay's⁴ remark that the professional expertise, if not the post itself, was often handed down from father to son. This continuous stewardship would have been particularly advantageous, and even more so to Griffin as Essex was his adopted county and especially during those periods when as a soldier he saw active service on the continent. Furthermore, in following a political career he would have been away from Audley End on regular if not in his case on a protracted basis. Perhaps it would not be out of place to compare the younger Pennystone with at least one of the many qualities of Edward Lawrence's ideal steward, namely that he should be a "Master of County-Affairs and hath made himself acquainted with every Parcel of Land in each Tenant's Possession".⁵

In view of the longevity of service along with other evidence it can be stated that a good relationship existed between steward and master and there was undoubtedly respect on both sides. There are a number of references to Pennystone's high qualities of character and ability as an

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1. Professor Mingay uses this example in "The Eighteenth-Century Land Steward", op.cit., 16.
 2. D/DBy E 8 & 9; see also, Addison, Audley End, 83.
 3. The local paper recorded that Thomas Pennystone Esq. died on Saturday 27 February 1802 at Saffron Walden that he was in his 83rd year: E.R.O. T/B 171/12.
 4. Mingay, "Eighteenth-Century Land Steward", op.cit., 8.
 5. E. Laurence, The Duty and Office of a Land Steward (1736), 11.

estate steward.¹ Although perhaps not like Lawrence's ideal whose "intelligence ought to be universal, and extend to the valuable inventions and improvements of other countries, as well as our own",² from the estate records and references to verbal contact,³ he emerges as an intelligent and straight forward person. He had a good, clear hand and showed a sound grasp of the problem in hand. He was honest and conscientious, and his achievement is all the more praiseworthy when it is remembered that he was also steward for the Bristol half of the original estate. Like his counterpart, the house steward, Pennystone, too, travelled in pursuance of his master's business, and this included being sent in January 1767 to Suffolk to inspect and report on the condition of the lighthouses there.⁴ Although in view of the size of Griffin's estate the administration might not warrant Professor Thompson's description of "top level management", nonetheless, within its particular framework, the relationship between landowner and steward was one of confidence at this level. Although the grand strategy was Griffin's, there is clear evidence to show that Pennystone identified himself with that strategy, and like John Dicken, he "had a keen grasp of his master's ambition and worked to further it wherever possible".⁵ Again, like Dicken, there were occasions when a particular

1. See below.

2. Lawrence, The Modern Land Steward, 43.

3. As Griffin was not an absentee landlord, there are correspondingly fewer letters than in some estate records: for example, see E.M. Jancey, "An Eighteenth Century Steward and his Work", Trans.Shrops.Arch.Soc., LVI (1957-60, 34. At Hawkstone, there were over 140 letters and as a result much more work for John Dicken.

4. Trinity House: letter 8. As well as making his report on the lights at Orford Pennystone also refers to some of the moieties of one of the local landowners. The letters contained in this volume are abstracts.

5. Jancey, op.cit., 41.

initiation of policy to further the main strategy came from Pennystone himself.¹ He also farmed himself,² owned lands,³ and at the beginning of the period was paid £50 per annum and this was increased to £70 per annum in 1786 at which level it remained. There was also an estate bailiff, John Parker, for most of the period, who was paid £10 per annum, and a woodward received £5 per annum.⁴

Another important criterion in measuring the efficiency of estate administration is the system of central administration itself. Although organisation varied from estate to estate,⁵ and although by the end of the eighteenth century the triumph of any one single pattern of estate organisation was not yet definitely assured,⁶ there were many common features in estate administration. Essentials for efficient organisation included the following:⁷ a central office where records and accounts were kept and correspondence dealt with; the systematic keeping of relevant data; the ownership of purpose design office furniture. As with the estate steward himself, so, too, with the setting up of a central office, this development on its own did not guarantee better management any more

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1. Again, like Dicken, Pennystone was working for a master who was increasing the size of the estate. See, Jancey, op.cit., 36.
 2. Some contemporaries were of the opinion that to "form an accomplished land-steward, it is requisite that theory and practice go hand in hand". See, Lawrence, The Modern Land Steward, 55.
 3. See below.
 4. D/DBy E42/3: A292-296; John Foord was bailiff until 1763 and in that year Parker succeeded him and was still there in 1791/2.
 5. Mingay, "Eighteenth-Century Land Steward", op.cit., 18.
 6. Thompson, op.cit., 152.
 7. Mingay, "Eighteenth-Century Land Steward", op.cit., 18.

than did the paper-work side of the business.¹ In considering such factors there is need to distinguish between to what amounted to more careful and systematic management and to deciding whether such developments were also testimony of progressive and efficient management.

How does the Audley End estate stand up to these developments? An audit room, steward's room and parlour are named in a plan of the house in 1787.² These offices were on the ground floor of the north wing, and with the employment of a resident steward and two other officials, then it would be appropriate that specific rooms should have been set aside for estate affairs, and there is enough evidence to indicate that Griffin established what William Marshall³ called a "place of business" which was also in keeping with Marshall's injunction that the office "should be under the roof of the proprietor's principal residence". But it is difficult to be sure of purpose designed furniture.

The paper-work side was greatly improved by Griffin and on this score, too, he is most emphatically at one with those of his contemporaries who emphasised this aspect of estate administration, and some of the items mentioned by Marshall,⁴ such as maps, rentals, books of accounts were present. Meticulous attention was given to the keeping of estate affairs and there is ample evidence of care, supervision and accuracy. The estate correspondence⁵ was kept separate from general correspondence and was filed

1. Mingay, English Landed Society, 59.

2. See illustration 6.

3. W. Marshall, On the Landed Property of England.... (1804), 333-410, and 344.

4. Marshall, op.cit., 344-49.

5. D/DBy E 19 (B) and E 40.

chronologically. Vouchers were arranged on a monthly basis, and as with household accounts, fair copies were bound together into books.¹ One recalls Lord Mansell's advice that "you are to keep all accounts in bound books in such manner that I may see a state of my affairs any day or hour I please...you are to account with me half yearly".² Five volumes³ have survived covering the period 1748 to 1792 and in the main are the work of the two Pennystones, who in this respect adhered to the advice of some contemporary writers⁴ that little as possible should be trusted to memory. These volumes refer only to the Essex estates⁵ and regrettably there is a gap for the last five years. The first volume and a limited part of the second deal with the original Audley End estate, but from 1754 a fresh start is made and the subsequent data refers only to Griffin's part of the estate, and indeed, the page numbering is re-started and runs consecutively from 1754 to 1792, or in page terms from 1 to 708. These admirably kept accounts differ from Higgin's household volumes in as much as they record the debit and credit side of estate business and accordingly the double

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1. The monthly bundles included some estate vouchers; see D/DBy A15-55. These and the household volumes have been analysed in Part III.
 2. Mingay, "Eighteenth-Century Land Steward", op.cit., 12-13.
 3. D/DBy A292: Michaelmas 1747-June 1752; this volume has an index. A293: June 1752-September 1765; this volume has been rebound recently. A294: March 1765-November 1775; this volume, too has been rebound. A295: Lady Day 1775-Lady Day 1782; original vellum binding. A296: Michaelmas 1782-June 1792; original binding but less well preserved than the previous volume. Its condition might explain why the post 1791 volume is missing, assuming that there was one. It seems very strange if this series had not been continued so it is likely that the missing volume was either destroyed or lost.
 4. J. Lawrence, The Modern Land Steward, 120.
 5. These out county estates have been discussed in Part 1, chapter 6; see also below.

entry system is adhered to throughout.¹ Manorial records include the survey of the manors of Brooke and Chipping Walden² and its accompanying maps³ as well as the minute, court and fine books.⁴ The numerous deeds faithfully record the predominant aspect of Griffin's estate policy and were carefully grouped together.⁵ Although perhaps not quite emerging from "the anarchy of rentals casually drawn on loose sheets of paper and accounts roughly jotted on the backs of envelopes into orderliness of neat ledgers",⁶ the picture at Audley End confirms Professor Spring's⁷ view that there was an aptitude for business and that it was to be found among landowners as well as agents.⁸ Of this development, Professor Mingay has stated that that improvement in central control raised the standard of administration and that order and method were the basis of sound administration.⁹ In the light of Griffin's main estate policy, it was essential that his management should have been consistently methodical.

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1. The financial aspect is discussed below. See S. Pollard, The Genesis of Modern Management, 210: "The main and obvious achievement of this system was to provide a check against embezzlement by the staff...It also provided a general view of the estate...It also provided a kind of check on the efficiency of the estate...".
 2. D/DAd 44.
 3. D/DQy 8,9,11-14; T/M 123,124; D/DU 120.
 4. D/DAd 8-11; 35-38; 45.
 5. D/DBy T1/1-856; T4/1-689; T5/1-35; T6/50-56B.
 6. Thompson, op.cit., 182. Certainly loose sheets were used by some of the Earls of Suffolk and then tied together in booklet form, see D/DBy E5.
 7. Spring, op.cit., 19.
 8. For a contrasting picture, see T.J. Raybould, "Systems of Management and Administration on the Dudley Estates 1774-1833", Business History, X, No.1, (Jan.1968), 1-11.
 9. Mingay, English Landed Society, 59-61.

(2) Development.

The predominant feature of Griffin's estate policy was to make good the deficiency in terms of acreage, and with it the rent roll, that resulted from the partition of the original estate. It would seem that he acted on the dictum that to buy was to improve, and no doubt enjoined in a sentiment expressed by Marshall that round "a Principal Residence, a gentleman may be supposed to have some considerable estate,...The love of possession is deeply planted in every man's breast".¹ But this policy must also be seen in conjunction with his career and his efforts at social elevation, for "acquisition of social position was an essential object of this investment in land",² even if it was in Griffin's case frequently by small parcels. The partition, then, had the effect of defining the major problem confronting him and of partly helping him decide the appropriate course of action, for even before he succeeded to the house in 1762,³ his mind had become attuned to the possibilities or more precisely the need for estate development in terms of growth. Essentially, this policy was to get hold of adjacent properties to extend and improve his estate. That this was achieved very largely in piecemeal fashion was due partly to the retention of an open field strip system in north west Essex after most of the remainder of the county had been enclosed.⁴ Sir John's experience would seem to confirm Professor Habakkuk's comment that even

1. W. Marshall, Planting and Rural Ornament (MDCCXCVI) , 283.

2. Thompson, op.cit., 41: Indeed, Professor Pollard has written that "...the economy of the estate was at least as much a function of social status and social aspirations as of economic calculation". Pollard, op.cit., 26.

3. D/DBY T1/1-10.

4. See, F. Hull, "Agriculture and Rural Society in Essex 1560-1640", (Ph.D.London, 1950) 11-82; D. Cromerty, The Fields of Saffron Walden in 1400 (Chelmsford 1966). See illustrations 8-14.

"very wealthy men bought relatively modest estates and contented themselves with the purchase of a single property in a group of properties in a single area".¹ Thus the division of the original estate and nature of landholdings in north west Essex made Griffin's task all the more difficult.

Following the death of the 10th and last Earl of Suffolk in 1745 and after complicated legal proceedings² the estate was divided between the Earl of Bristol on the one hand and Lady Portsmouth and her sister Ann Whitwell on the other hand.³ These records have been carefully preserved and are in the main the work of Colonel Vachell⁴ assisted by the elder Pennystone.⁵ According to this survey⁶ the undivided estate amounted to 6,066 acres, of which 4,794 was arable, 729 acres pasture,

1. H.J. Habakkuk, "The English Land Market in the Eighteenth Century" in Britain and the Netherlands (1959) eds. J.S. Bromley & E.H. Kossman, 172.
2. D/DBy E38,39,41,42/4,43.
3. D/DBy T10/2.
4. A colonel in the Coldstream Guards he was a friend of Lady Portsmouth and her first husband.
5. It was the elder Pennystone who assisted in the partition of the estate.
6. D/DBy E 8 & 9. "The groundwork of improvement", wrote William Marshall, "on which a practical man may tread with safety and full effect, is an accurate delineation of the existing estate, together with a faithful estimate of the present value, of the lands and other valuable particulars of an estate to be improved". See, W. Marshall, On the Landed Property of England (1804) 29. Although suffering from a divided estate, these details afforded Griffin, an outsider, a two fold advantage, for not only was he in a position to gain a sound knowledge of his own properties, but also of Lord Bristol's, with whom he was to engage in negotiations.

295 acres of woodland, 137 acres of lay ground and 109 acres of wood.¹

In terms of its geographical distribution the estate, in the main, impinged upon six parishes. Half the estate was situated in the parish of Saffron Walden; 920 acres in Great Chesterford; 835 acres in Littlebury; 498 acres in Little Chesterford; 481 acres in Wendens; and 253 acres in Newport. There were also 14 acres of meadow land in the Cambridgeshire parish of Hadenham.

In dividing the estate between the two parties the solution arrived at was to separate the Walden part of the estate from land situated in the other parishes. As the Walden part of the estate amounted to about half the total acreage, this was probably the most natural and easiest way of achieving an equal or near equal division. Apart from minor modifications² this course met with the approval of both parties. The Bristol half amounted to 3,572 acres which brought in a gross income of £2,059 8s. 8½d. Lord Bristol gained 27 tenants and nine principal farms, but his lands were less compact being the outlying portions of the estate. The Portsmouth-Whitwell or Walden half amounted to 3,257 acres which was about half the acreage of the parish of Walden.³ This half comprised of 2,165 acres of arable; 289 acres of pasture; 173 acres of meadow; 128 acres of lay ground; and 499 acres of woodland.⁴

1. I have not included the roads and poles.
2. For example some woodlands were transferred from the Walden to Lord Bristol half of the estate.
3. This was about 7,300 acres, see, Braybrooke, Audley End, 141. The manors were about 7,940 acres, see, A. Young, General View of the Agriculture of the County of Essex (1813), i, 79.
4. D/DBy E 8: the rentals are discussed below.

Thus, as with the house, it was a depleted¹ and run down² inheritance that Griffin came into. In terms of both acreage and rent roll he was comparable with some of the lesser gentry of the county.³ The records mentioned above show how the estate grew under Griffin. Understandably there is an uneven distribution in these types of records, but in some instances it is possible to relate all types of sources to a particular transaction. But the piecemeal and long term nature of the whole operation make the problem of presenting a meaningful picture a difficult one, as questions of chronology, geographical distribution of plots and their location in relation to demesne lands, types of land, the persons involved, directly or indirectly, the amounts of cash to change hands, the methods used and the total acreage obtained, all enter into consideration.

Sir John's share of the original estate consisted of land situated in the parish of Saffron Walden and in the manors of Brooke and Chipping Walden. The manorial survey⁴ drawn up for Griffin, records his land procuring policy from 1754 until his death over forty years later in 1797. It is organised on the following basis: plot number, based on his principal farms; letter references to a particular square on the appropriate map; names of tenants; a description of lands held; the manor in which they were situated; whether the parcel held was copy or free hold; the total amount held by each tenant; and finally the date and method used

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1. For the detrimental effects of partition, see Thompson, op.cit., 40-41.
 2. Not only was the estate depleted, but it had also been neglected by the late Earls of Suffolk and was in a run down condition. The tenants had not recovered from the effects of the depression of the period 1730-50, and the owners had been forced to make timber sales. See, D/DBy E 8 & 9.
 3. C. Shrimpton, "The Landed Society in the Farming Community of Essex in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries", Ph.D. (Cantab., 1965) 5.
 4. D/DAd/44: some of the land did extend into the adjoining parishes, for example Ashden and Little Chesterford.

by him in procuring the land. Closely allied to this survey is the series of maps.¹ This visual evidence enables the underlying strategy of Griffin's policy of estate development to be seen with greater clarity. There are seven such maps, each one being a plan of the main farm holdings and showing the adjoining and surrounding land, and recording the additions made and the date in which they were made. On the basis of this evidence, the following overall picture² emerges.

Initially, some 373 parcels of land amounting to about 789a 3r 30p³ were added to the diminished Audley End estate. Of this total some 460 acres were freehold, 328 acres copyhold and the remainder unspecified. In terms of their accumulated distribution on an annual basis, additions were made in 1754 and 1755, that is, before he actually succeeded to the house, but after he had been given his aunt's share of the divided estate. Between 1762 and 1797, only in five years were no additions recorded, those being 1777, 1778, 1780, 1789 and 1791. In terms of parcels procured per decade, there were nine in the 1750s; ninety in the 1760s; seventy in the 1770s; one hundred and eighty in the 1780s; and thirty in the 1790s. Three parcels were undated.

This growth was achieved in three ways: by purchase, by exchange and by a combination of these two methods. The bulk of the land was obtained as a result of purchase. Of the 373 parcels added, 303 came via purchase amounting to some 649 of the 789 acres. The second method brought 47 parcels, 32 by private exchange and 15 via Parliamentary

1. D/DQy 8,9,11-14; T/M 123, 124; D/DU 120.

2. This picture is based on my analysis of these two sources, survey and maps: see illustration 8-14.

3. The form of measurement is acres, roods and poles. [a.r.p.].

legislature, and accounted for some 58 acres, but this figure does not allow for lands given by Sir John himself as part of the transaction. Thirdly, the combination of both methods shows two permutations: exchange and subsequent re-purchase of the same land; and purchase, subsequent exchange and further re-purchase of the same land. Of the first permutation, some 42 acres were involved when 14 parcels were initially exchanged and later re-purchased, and this occurred in both private and Parliamentary exchange. There are four examples of the second permutation, whereby some 8 acres were initially purchased by Griffin, exchanged for what at the time he perhaps considered to be more desirable parcels or to accommodate a person with whom he was dealing, and then subsequently re-purchased at a later date. This, then, is the overall pattern that emerges from the manorial survey and maps, and invaluable though these sources are, by their very nature they present to the latter day student a fait accompli picture, even when, as in this case, they record transactions extending over forty years. To penetrate beyond this facade it is imperative that the other estates records mentioned be examined.

As well as being the dominant landowner in the parish of Walden, Griffin was also lord of the two manors of Brooke and Chipping Walden. Of the 373 parcels gained, 123 were in Brooke Walden and 238 in Chipping Walden, and the remaining dozen were unspecified, and of the 789 acres gained some 328 were copyhold. In an open field area the manorial records show that the manor was an important agency for estate administration, particularly for the type of administration that was to dominate Griffin's stewardship of the Audley End estate.¹ For Chipping Walden, there is a

1. These records have been used mainly from the standpoint of the development of the Audley End estate.

Minute Book (1748-57)¹ and three Court Books (1748-1808);² for Brooke Walden there is a Minute Book (1747-58)³ and two Court Books (1747-1830).⁴ These large bound volumes are in a good condition and are the top or best copies of manorial business.⁵ As Lord of the two manors he was able to keep his finger very much on the pulse of the local land market, and the limited correspondence over gains made in these manors would seem to confirm this view. Some of this property procuring activity is mirrored in the respective courts of the two manors.⁶

Primarily these records confirm some of the additions made and also bring out the involved nature of land transactions particularly in an open field strip area underlying the procedure that had to be gone through and highlighting the participation of several interested parties as a result of one man's ambitions. As a vehicle for enabling land transactions to take place, these records also amplify some of the data contained in the survey. Generally, copyhold land was surrendered directly to the Lord of the manors, but there are a few occasions when either Pennystone or the estate bailiff held land in trust for him.⁷ Otherwise all parcels seem to have been brought within demesne lands at once as such became freehold property. Some of the entries are precise in stating the location of the

1. D/DAd/8.

2. D/DAd/9-11.

3. D/DAd/38.

4. D/DAd/35-6.

5. There is also a Fine Book for the two manors and this is discussed in "Finances" below.

6. This aspect of the discussion is based on these manor court records.

7. D/DAd/9, p.171-2, 225-6, 401-2.

parcel to demesne land, such as Stephen Wyatt's surrender of 3 2 24 acres lying between demesne land called Woolmead East and other demesne land called Ingrey Field, the latter being part of St. Aylott's farm.¹ Or again, other entries show how Griffin's policy had made some headway, as in the case of Stephen Player, who, in 1784, surrendered into the hands of the Lord of the manor, 1 acre of land lying in Clay Pit Shott in Puttock's Field, adjoining the tenement and land previously held by one Robert Lagden, but by this time already in Griffin's hands, he having purchased it from Lagden in 1779.² Some of the other tenants to surrender lands into the hands of the lord of the manor were no longer resident. For instance, William Fairchild, a merchant of Cambridge, and Mary, his wife, who surrendered a total of 21 2 3 acres on 8 July 1768 which was confirmed when the court met on 5 May 1769.³ As with the survey, the court records too bring out the protracted nature of the whole operation.

But to appreciate the finer points of the human drama that sometimes lay behind these transactions it is to the estate correspondence that we must turn. This evidence brings out the patience and determination that were on occasions needed to procure a coveted property, and perhaps more than the other records underlines the complexities of this type of estate policy in an open field area. It also makes clear that not all negotiations for land were successful. Although most of the land purchased in the parish of Walden was procured initially on the basis of verbal contact, there is some correspondence which throws additional light on some of the transactions. One of the leading figures in furthering his master's estate

1. Ibid, p.512.

2. D/DAd/44, plot no. 364.

3. Ibid, plot nos.1735,1740-45; D/DAd/10, p.42; D/DBy T1/285-300.

policy was Thomas Pennystone, and although a Quaker, it would seem that even his patience was tried on occasions. In a letter dated 25 February 1787,¹ the decade in which one hundred and seventy parcels were added to the estate in the two manors of Brooke and Chipping Walden, he informed Griffin that at the time of writing, when both purchases and exchanges were currently taking place, that he was "so deeply hurt and mortified that I most Sincerely wish never to have anything more to do with some part of this Neighbourhood (on any Account) Seeing as Your Lordship justly Observed on the Polite Offers to the Owner of Short grove,² that there was something that possesses the minds, that Every Offer or proposal Carrys Sinister Views". It transpired, in Pennystone's view, that the "Narrow minded Mr. Bowtell³...has Yesterday Impress'd strongly on his neighbours the two Leveretts⁴...(to stand still to present Offers,...the other which is Owner of No.1543...not to Comply without Your Lordship giving him No.1539...these are such Vexing Absurdity that they are beyond almost bearing the hearing, and the sly Close Mr. Archer Upon former Conversation & being spok to thinks his place of that Consequence that it Cannot be done without to Compleat the Improvements". As well as demonstrating Pennystone's role, this letter also reveals his knowledge of the area and some of the inhabitants and it is clear that he kept his ear close to the ground. For as well as being able to inform his master of

1. D/DBy E40.

2. The home of the Hon. Percy Wyndham who had supported Griffin over the Cam navigation dispute; see part 1, chapter 4.

3. He was one of Sir John's own tenants; see below, Home Farm and D/DBy T2/11.

4. Sir John did later negotiate with this family, see D/DBy T4/490-516.

some of the properties that might be procured, he could also anticipate some of the problems that might arise, in this instance, stalling, in the hope of attaining a better price, one of the many problems that made estate growth a complicated affair.

Another example which demonstrates the extra difficulties that might arise partly as a result of obtaining "small parcels which would need to be laboriously pieced together"¹ is evidenced in the correspondence between Griffin himself and Thomas Wolfe. This correspondence took place between May 1782 and January 1784, and concerned the exchange of some plots for the right to enfranchise a larger plot called Painters. In a letter to Wolfe on 1 May 1782² we learn that Sir John had that very morning taken great pains to examine Wolfe's survey in order to comply with the latter's wishes. He had discovered certain lands which he understood to be in Wolfe's power to make over to him in return for the enfranchisement of his 20 acres at Great Painters. Griffin assured Wolfe that he would be pleased to accommodate him. In his reply³ Wolfe thanked Griffin for his cooperation and stated that he fully understood the latter's intention of reserving the accustomed quit rents, and accepted such terms provided he "can come at the lands pointed out and they fall within the value of the enfranchisement." Griffin, for his part,⁴ let it be known that if Wolfe considered that the lands he himself would be getting were worth more than the enfranchisement, then, he, Griffin, would pay the difference. Setting his copyhold estate at about £12 or £13 a year, Wolfe expressed his gratitude

1. Thompson, op.cit., 41.

2. D/DBy E19 (B).

3. Ibid, also dated 1 May 1782.

4. Ibid, 12 May 1782.

for Griffin's "generosity in granting the request made with so much readiness and for the very liberal terms".¹ The sum of one hundred and fifty guineas mentioned by Griffin seemed to him to be both fair and reasonable, and in his next letter² Wolfe also agreed to pay Griffin one hundred guineas for the enfranchisement, which was nine years purchase. Sir John wrote on the outside of this letter: "On any future occasion in case of enfranchising let nine years be the rule". That Wolfe was pleased with the outcome of this particular transaction is manifested in the sentiments he expressed. It was, he wrote, "a fair and equal bargain in the line of dealing between Man & Man, between ourselves, & between You & those who may claim after you, in the strictest line of family settlement. But my private estimation of what you have been pleased to grant in compliance with my wishes, both to the thing itself, & the maner of doing it, will not permit me to stifle my inward feelings on the Occasion, nor suffer me to do less than to annex to your estate the whole of the lands which you have pointed out, (I am happy in my power to have it do) free from charge to you, to express some sense of the Obligation you have been so graciously pleased to confer". Correspondence³ continued between them concerning the "over plus money" that Griffin was to pay Wolfe, and it was agreed that instead he would give a piece of demesne land.

Encouraged by this successful transaction⁴ tentative steps were taken to effect a further exchange, for an undated note⁵ mentioned a

1. Ibid, also dated 12 May 1782.
2. Ibid, 14 May 1782.
3. Ibid, 1 & 3 September 1782.
4. D/DBy T5/23.
5. D/DBy E40; Saturday evening only, no date.

draft being sent for Griffin's close examination. Having established a basis for discussion, the business in hand developed. Griffin for his part was anxious to give all the security and stability to his own property having done the same by Wolfe, and proposed turning aside the hunting gate that opened through Wolfe's properties "to every rider & to the several hunts that had at any time occasion to use it". With equal pleasure he offered Wolfe the run of the grove by the side of the piece called Brigden as a matter that would afford them equal pleasure. He also made minor alterations to Wolfe's draft. For his part, Wolfe was anxious that if the projected changes were to take place then they should do so as speedily as possible in the light of his own health and age, and gave it as his opinion that he knew of no person better to judge the matter in hand than Thomas Pennystone.¹

In his reply² made on the following day Griffin stated his intention of talking the matter over with his steward after which he would get in touch with Wolfe again. This he did two days later.³ He informed Wolfe that he had examined his map in regard to the pieces in question, and that he had "set out on Saturday morning upon my Ride (my Groom only attending me) without consulting anybody & returned home satisfied with my own wishes & resolution to accommodate you & to ask your endeavours to procure me the woods & lands above mentioned of Mr. Rullin & the Alms House, and perceiving they was so closely united to my own Lands..., I did under these considerations & for what appeared to me for our mutual Accommodation draw this Line". His action had the effect of squaring their respective properties

1: Ibid, 30 October 1782.

2. Ibid, 31 October 1782.

3. D/DBY E40, November 1782.

and of making them as separate and distinct as possible, so that each would have his own way to his property without trespassing upon the other's. Having settled matters in his own mind he was very surprised to be told by Pennystone that Wolfe was already in possession of some of the parcels he had examined. He intimated that should Wolfe be "fixed upon keeping them, it will throw me into great difficulties, & the greater still because I protest a strong desire to promote what might afford you Pleasure". He added that Pennystone had that morning gone out very early and would not return to the house until after he, Griffin, would be "engag'd in company with a Foreigner" but stated that when he would next see Pennystone, he would ask him to call on Wolfe. This was done and Wolfe in his letter¹ also acknowledged that Sir John had shown great judgement in drawing the line and mentioned his own satisfaction and readiness to comply with it. For adopting the plan he had put into writing some "heads" which Pennystone would deliver for Griffin's consideration.

However, despite the progress made, by 10 January 1783,² matters were no longer to either Wolfe's or Sir John's complete satisfaction. After acknowledging Sir John's letter and deed of exchange "which has been talk'd of between them", he expressed himself "not less surprised than sorry to find that throughout the whole of this business...been altogether misled by a total misapprehension of the terms upon which the Exchange was to be brought about, having always understood it to have been for the mutual benefit". He recollected that the proposal had not originated with him and mentioned that neither he nor his son were either desirous, or indeed could accede to the idea that Griffin should on their account make

1. Ibid, 3 November 1782.

2. Ibid, 10 January 1783.

as great a sacrifice as it appeared would be necessary for him to do so to put into effect what he, Wolfe, had always understood to be an equal agreement between them, and accordingly he wished to relinquish all views he had on the subject.

Sir John made his reply¹ on the following day and expressed his sorrow that Wolfe wished to relinquish an exchange that he personally had thought was much wished by both of them. Indeed, it was his recollection that for some years and on several occasions his steward had suggested to him his ideas of getting the properties in question, but he had "never cordially" entered into this suggestion until he had received a letter from Wolfe on 30 October 1785, intimating his willingness of seriously entering into discussion upon the subject. Unable to accept this, Wolfe felt obliged to write again, probably on the same day.² It was his understanding that Sir John himself was inclined towards the exchange, and he recollected that when their previous transaction had been finalised at Audley End, Griffin had intimated his intention of taking up the subject at some future date, and it was against this background that he had written the previous October. Perhaps still hopeful of a deal, he concluded that should Griffin have approved of an exchange on a "liberal plan", it would have been acceptable to him, especially, no doubt, in the light of their earlier successful, and particularly from Wolfe's standpoint, highly satisfactory transactions.

But although correspondence can highlight the involvement of persons and reveal the complications that might arise, there are limitations to this type of evidence too. For this source alone does not always yield

1. Ibid, 11 January 1783.

2. Ibid, not dated.

all the answers, and there are those frustrating occasions when a series of letters trails off before the business in hand was completed. It is particularly on such occasions that the fourth type of evidence adds yet another dimension to the picture. First and foremost, the title deed sets the final seal on the transaction, and this more precise legal document usually complements the other types of estate records used. As well as demonstrating the amount of legal work involved it also serves as a further token of the human activity in both time and effort in drawing up what at times are lengthy and complicated documents. When concerned with the purchase of land, the deed faithfully records the vital missing component, the amount of cash to change hands.¹ For present purposes, there are four series of deeds that initially confirm some of the data elicited from the other sources, and also throw further light on this vital aspect of Sir John's estate management. The first series records purchases between 1753-1775;² the second between 1779-1797;³ the third series records exchanges between 1760-1795;⁴ and finally, there is a separate series for land procured from the Pennystone family between 1742-1789,⁵ although transactions with this family are also recorded in the other three series as well. These deeds are almost entirely the lease and release type.⁶ This source is also helpful in identifying the different

1. The Bank Ledgers also record some of these transactions; and some examples are given below.

2. D/DBy T1/1-856.

3. D/DBy T4/1-689.

4. D/DBy T5/1-35.

5. D/DBy T6/50-50B.

6. See A.A. Dibben, Title Deeds, 13th-19th Centuries (1968).

types of persons with whom Griffin did business. They include shopkeepers, husbandmen, yeomen, maltsters, bricklayers, innkeepers, gentlemen, labourers, a bookseller, a joiner, a tanner, and a carpenter. Most resided in Saffron Walden, a few in adjoining parishes and there were several non-residents of north west Essex. In this respect in particular they confirm some of the data recorded in the manorial sources.

However, perhaps their most important single contribution after indicating that a particular transaction had taken place, is to reveal the sums of money paid by Sir John for those properties obtained by purchase. These amounted to 649 acres¹ in the two manors of Brooke and Chipping Walden, and although the deeds do not account for all of this acreage,² even so, it is possible to show that the sum spent by Griffin in these two manors was not inconsiderable. On the basis of the series of purchase deeds, he spent at least £24,831.³ The number of additions made per decade mentioned above is also partly reflected in financial terms. Purchases in the 1750s cost him £303; in the 1760s this had risen very sharply to £5,220; in the 1770s it dropped to £3,314; in the 1780s, the peak decade, it more than doubled reaching £8,888; in the 1790s it was at its second highest level at £7,066.

In terms of individual transactions, as one might expect there were wide variations in the prices paid. This was due partly to the size, position, quality and desirability of the plots, as well as to the fluc-

1. This is based on my analysis of the survey, D/DAd/44.
2. That the deeds do not match precisely with this figure is understandable, for when subsequent sales or exchanges were made, then the deeds would also have been parted with.
3. This figure is based on my analysis of the surviving deeds relating to Brooke and Chipping Walden: see appendix 37.

tuations in the land¹ market during a period of over forty years and all in an open field strip area. It is also clear that Griffin was prepared to pay above the current market price to obtain such parcels considered to be vital for his overall estate policy. A very special relationship existed between Sir John and his own estate steward. In 1770 Pennystone was paid £830,² in 1772 £210,³ and in 1785 £3,000.⁴ In the third transaction Griffin purchased 139 acres 1 rood and 30 poles⁵ and entered into a bond on 10 October 1785 which was repaid by 29 November 1786.⁶ On 30 June 1789 he entered into another bond of £3,000 with his estate steward, possibly mortgaging the property bought from Pennystone in 1785 in order to purchase other properties from persons who could not wait for their money. Griffin too was particularly active at this time in procuring properties in the locality and elsewhere.⁷ However, interest apart, Pennystone was paid £4,040 which was a very considerable sum of money to pass into the hands of a steward. Having cooperated with his master and with no children of his own to succeed to his properties Pennystone seems to have elected to take ready cash.⁸ As all the trans-

1. See Habakkuk, "English Land Market in the Eighteenth Century", op.cit., 154-173.

2. D/DBy T1/404-458.

3. D/DBy T1/615-40.

4. D/DBy T4/252-258.

5. D/DBy E16.

6. D/DBy T6/52: the Bank Ledgers confirm that this second bond was repaid in June 1792.

7. See below.

8. Addison, op.cit., 171.

actions between them were based on oral contact, it might well be that a mutual agreement between the two was also agreed on the same basis. But this method of payment was exceptional and usually Griffin paid cash at the time of the purchase. There are several examples of substantial payments to individual small landowners such as the £2,000¹ paid to Joseph Collins, a gentleman of the parish, and the son of Turner Collins, one time alderman of the town. Another instance of the heirs of the previous owner selling was the transaction with Mrs. Sarah Ingrey who resided in Cambridge and was paid £1,741 5s.² for her land. But there were also numerous examples of much smaller payments for the small parcels purchased. These varied from several hundred pounds, as in the case of Edward Ball, for instance, who was paid £721,³ to £135 5s.⁴ paid to Sarah Lagden, to £84⁵ paid to Robert Ives, to £26 5s.⁶ to Elizabeth Hebert, to five⁷ guineas paid to John Bedington.⁸

So far we have been concerned to show how the estate records reflect different aspects of Sir John's overall policy. But to gain a more precise picture of what this policy amounted to in the two manors of Brooke and Chipping Walden, it is necessary to bring the different sources together. From the accumulative evidence there appear to have been a number of main

1. D/DBy T1/301-333.

2. D/DBy T4/316-362.

3. D/DBy T1/71-131.

4. D/DBy T1/136-148.

5. D/DBy T4/58-63.

6. D/DBy T1/52-60.

7. D/DBy T1/801-803.

8. See appendices 38 and 39 for analysis of deeds.

strands within his policy, for although basically dictated by the adverse effects of the partition, his development policy goes beyond the accumulation of additional property, and it is clear that he was concerned with improving as well as extending his estate.

Firstly, the strategy of the whole operation is partly explained by relating the additions, made by purchase, exchange, and a combination of these methods, to demesne lands, and to the main holdings, although they were not necessarily added to the principal farms. On this basis some 258 acres made up of 151 parcels are seen to be lying nearest to Westley farm; 246 acres comprising of 131 plots to Audley End farm; 130 acres made up of 27 parcels to Butler's farm; 126 acres consisting of 53 plots to St. Aylott's farm; 27 acres made up of 9 parcels to Pounce Hall farm; 2 acres being a single plot to Rose farm; and no such additions seem to have been made in proximity to the seventh farm, Monk's Hall. It is clear that Sir John was not only extending the overall size of his estate, but was also endeavouring to make his properties more compact and making possible the immediate or future re-adjustment in the size of his principal farms.¹

Secondly, some of the land that he could see to the south of the house was not his. For aesthetic as well as for social and economic reasons he got hold of a number of fairly small properties and as a result two streets in the hamlet of Audley End were pulled down and a new street built at a more respectful distance from the great house,² and as seen today they are

1. See illustrations 8-14.

2. Such a problem was not peculiar to Griffin. For instance, the village of Stowe was completely removed and the inhabitants accommodated in the neighbouring hamlet of Dedford by Lord Cobham. The 3rd Lord Braybrooke commented that Sir John "contrived by degrees to remove the village and to purchase all the lands so peculiarly desirable by their contiguity to Audley End". See Braybrooke, *op.cit.*, 131.

tucked away behind the park wall.¹ The effect of this policy is seen also by comparing a map of 1758 with the map of 1783.² By the later date the hamlet had been reduced to one street, its present dimension. Among the small properties purchased were a cottage and adjoining land in 1760 from William Seaman and his mother for £30.³ Sarah Lagden was paid £135 5s. for a messuage called "The Swan" next to the bridge, shortly to be replaced by the Adam designed bridge that we use today, and a note adds that this property was pulled down in 1764 and a receipt shows that Sarah Lagden was given six guineas as "a kind gift of charity for my Own Use Over and above the purchase Money paid for the House".⁴ A year later two sisters, one married and the other a spinster, were paid £200 for a messuage;⁵ in the same year Richard Trott was paid £560 for properties including a messuage in the hamlet;⁶ and in 1769 Robert Cole sold a tann office and adjoining close for £300,⁷ an example of Sir John re-purchasing land. Thomas Pennystone also had a hand in facilitating his master's policy in this area by selling two cottages, one on the east and one on the west side of Ozier Lane, which still leads to the old Home

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1. A very considerable part of the wall was built under the direction of Richard Ward from 1772. In May of that year, for example, 20,000 bricks were carted by Edward Goodwin, see D/DBy A30/5/1772. Ward rendered a bill for over £228 for this work in 1773, see D/DBy A31/3/1773.
 2. E.R.O. T/M 123 & D/DQy 8: see illustrations 8 and 7.
 3. D/DBy T1/36-39.
 4. D/DBy T1/136-148.
 5. D/DBy T1/168-174.
 6. D/DBy T1/151-167.
 7. D/DBy T1/334-362.

farm.¹ In the same year, 1772, Mr. Allen Taylor received £420 for a messuage and malting office,² and in the following year Stephen Smith was paid £1,060 for a messuage and malting office.³ This slow accumulation continued⁴ and in 1775 five⁵ other properties were purchased including a cottage from a labourer named Daniel Webb who was paid £50 for the building, yard and grounds as well as a promise to have one of the newly erected cottages at the same rent as the others were let.⁶ Further purchases were made in 1780,⁷ 1783,⁸ and 1792.⁹ In conjunction with such policy exchanges had also taken place and these included both private and parliamentary. For instance in 1765 Sir John gave a building and a small piece of ground to Mr. Fuller, a maltster of the hamlet, in return for a piece of ground next to Mowl's orchard. A note on the outside of the document in Griffin's hand informs that this "Exchange was not included in ye Act of Parliament but made for mutual Benefit, viz. to ye A.E.Estate & to Mr. Fuller".¹⁰ In 1776 Griffin got hold of two cottages from Jeffrey Cowell a labourer and his sons. In return he agreed to convey a piece of land in Little Walden and to erect at his own expense two "good"

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1. D/DBy T1/615-640.
 2. D/DBy T1/649-673.
 3. D/DBy T1/690-738.
 4. D/DBy T1/739-745; 746-754.
 5. D/DBy T1/786-800; 801-803; 818-828; 829-840; 841-853.
 6. D/DBy T1/829-840.
 7. D/DBy T4/58-63.
 8. D/DBy T4/140-155.
 9. D/DBy T4/389-390.
 10. D/DBy T5/2.

cottages, one tiled and the other thatched, and both of them "well daubed up and finished fit for living in".¹ The parliamentary exchange had been effected in 1764 with the local Almshouse. This Act enabled the mayor and aldermen of Saffron Walden, the guardians and trustees of the King Edward VI Almshouse and others to convey to Sir John 14 0 34 acres in return for 20 0 22 acres.²

Thirdly, a smaller hamlet to the north of the house, and in his park, received quite similar attention, with Sir John effecting both purchases and an exchange in Duck Street between 1762 and 1792. A comparison of the maps of 1758 and 1783³ show that changes had taken place, and these included taking down some of the older building and replacing them with new cottages and farm buildings.⁴ Among those from whom the properties were procured was James King, a husbandman from the adjoining parish of Littlebury, who was paid £36 15s. for a messuage⁵ in 1762. Three years later a tenement was purchased from Sarah Burling for £21. She had been the widow of Thomas Wyatt, a yeoman of Walden, had remarried and at the time of the transaction was living with her second husband, a carpenter, in Southwark.⁶ In 1790 Thomas Hantler, a yeoman, sold a messuage and orchard for £115, and the appropriate map shows how Sir John had obtained adjacent plots, in this instance plots 15, 16 and 17.⁷ The final purchase

1. D/DBy T5/16.

2. D/DBy T5/35.

3. E.R.O. T/M 123 & D/DQy 8: see illustrations 8 and 7.

4. The financial aspect is discussed below.

5. D/DBy T1/63-70.

6. D/DBy T1/148A-E; D/DAd/35, p.112.

7. D/DBy T4/363-368; D/DAd/36, p.18: see illustration 8.

took place in 1792 when Thomas and Miss Mary Archer sold a tan office and meadow for £900 which gave Griffin the remainder of Archer's property in Duck Street, having already effected an exchange of the other part in 1776.¹ Thus over thirty years Sir John was able to secure ownership of this hamlet and along with Audley End hamlet this aspect of his estate policy demonstrates his determination to own land adjoining his estate and visible from the great house.

A fourth problem to confront him, and which partly resulted from his policy in securing plots adjacent to his estate, was that some of the local roads or byways cut across his original or enlarged estate. As part of his policy was to make his estate more private it was to be expected that he should want to divert the offending byways.² Soon after inheriting the house, in July 1763,³ he was granted a licence to enclose a highway from Saffron Walden to Duck Street, running from the top of Windmill Hill to the north west corner of his park, and in its place he was responsible for making another highway.⁴ At the same time he was also granted a licence to enclose a highway in Littlebury from the hamlet of Duck Street into the highway from London to Cambridge and to replace it with another one. Likewise a footway from the hamlet of Audley End to the village of Littlebury, and part of the highway in Littlebury from Audley End to Duck Street, as well as the main London highway from Audley End received

1. D/DBy T4/428-489.
2. This aspect of his estate policy partly explains his opposition to the Cam navigation, which would have had the effect of negating some of his work: see Part I, chapter 4.
3. E.R.O. Q/RH1 2/4.
4. This part of his estate policy also affords another example of employment offered to the local labour force.

attention. In July 1772¹ a licence was granted allowing him to enclose a certain highway in the parish of Saffron Walden called Littlebury Lane, leading from the town of Walden in the direction of Royston in Hertfordshire, from a stake standing in the highway on the north side of Windmill Hill to a cottage of his at North End. Again Griffin was to provide alternative routes and as convenient for the public. At the same time he was granted a licence to enclose another road leading from Windmill Hill to the north west corner of his park and this seems to have been a further re-adjustment to the 1763 arrangement probably made necessary by the additions made to the estate between the two dates.

This was certainly the case in 1780-81 with the diversion involving the Warren Ring and Pepperage Lane.² A certain part of Hollow Way in the parish of Littlebury running down the side of the Warren Ring and leading from Audley End to Littlebury Green, and a certain part of a narrow lane called Pepperage Lane also in the parish of Littlebury running from Audley End to Littlebury Green, were diverted "so as to make the same more commodious to the Publick and having viewed a Course proposed by the new Highway in lieu thereof, through the Lands and Grounds of the Honourable Sir John Griffin...and having evidence of the consent of the said Sir John... Saving nevertheless free passage for all persons on Foot to pass and repass by the side to such first mentioned way according to ancient usage". A meeting was held at the 'Rose and Crown' inn in Walden on 21 April 1781 and the relevant documents were signed and sealed. The advantage gained by Sir John was that one new road replaced the two old roads and that it

1. E.R.O. Q/RH1 2/17.

2. E.R.O. Q/RH1 3/7 & D/DBY E32/1: this was also called Pepper Hedge Lane.

did not cut across his property to the same extent.¹ This concern with local roads brings out one of the problems that might confront an improving landlord and also underlines the respect that had to be accorded ancient custom and public useage at the time.

But Sir John's efforts to improve his estate were not confined to the parish of Saffron Walden and the manors of Brooke and Chipping Walden, and as evidenced by the problem of local roads, reference was made to the adjoining parish of Littlebury. Lying to the north and west of Audley End house a considerable part of the original estate was situated in this parish. Griffin's activities in this direction can be seen as an attempt to regain some of the land that had belonged to the original estate as well as extending the size of his property by procuring other suitable land. In this parish he expended at least £7,742 in purchasing a minimum of 33½ acres, and a further £5,000 in purchasing an unspecified amount of land.² Further gains were made from exchange and as in the parish of Walden transactions were made with both individuals and corporate bodies.

Lord Bristol had gained 835³ acres in Littlebury and negotiations between the Bristol family and Sir John were to take place between 1766 and 1793. The Bristols were absentee landlords residing in Suffolk and they were engaged upon rebuilding work themselves at Ickworth Lodge, and in all probability they found it more expedient to sell some of their property in Essex and use the cash for such work.⁴ In reply to a letter

1. Griffin had already erected the Adam designed temple on this part of the estate and had also been in negotiations with Lord Bristol; see below.
2. See appendix 40.
3. D/DBy ES & 9.
4. D/DBy E19 (B), 4 September 1766.

of Griffin's, Lord Bristol on 16 January 1766¹ stated that he was well pleased with the partition of the original estate and referred to his having already obliged Lady Portsmouth adding that "wherever we can make further Exchange of Lands, it will be according to Pennystone's Plan, for our mutual Convenience to come to some Agreement, and you shall ever find the same Facility in me, which I hope you have already experienced to accommodate you, and to make so beautifull a Seat as Audley End compleat".

But it was not until August 1773² that the promise to accommodate each other really got under way. By this time Griffin made known his wish to purchase 237 acres of Lord Bristol's lands in Littlebury. The annual rental from this property was £129 6s. and it consisted mainly of 94 acres rented by Griffin himself and 125 acres by Thomas Pennystone. In his letter to Lord Bristol, who on this occasion was also his landlord, Griffin indicated that as a result of a verbal message from his Lordship delivered by Pennystone he felt concerned because although there had been those occasions when Lord Bristol had encountered some difficulties in coming to a decision, he had at other times led him to believe that one day his Lordship would indulge him with all the lands necessary for him to complete the improvements on his own estate. Griffin assured Lord Bristol, that without such expectation he would not have "enlarg'd my Plantation & Park to the Degree I have done, nor have been at the Expense of purchasing several Lands that are intermix'd with Those belonging to your Lordship on ye Littlebury Side oposite to my Park". To justify his own expectations he requested permission "to remind your Lordship of your great Kindness express'd to Me in a Letter I had the Honour of receiving from Your

1. Ibid, 16 January.

2. Ibid.

Lordship from Ickworth in January 1766 wherein Your Lordship was pleas'd to Express Yourself in the following Words". The appropriate extract was transcribed and in doing so Sir John was acting upon Marshall's¹ dictum that the "business of negotiation is best carried on, by letter; which become vouchers of facts". In this particular instance Griffin protested that this was the only method open to him and added that he had also "transmitted to your Lordship by Mr. P."² Particulars of the Lands I wish'd to be accommodated with". Here, Griffin was claiming the land mentioned above as well as that part of the Bristol estate known as the Severals.³

Lord Bristol replied to Griffin's missive on 1 September⁴ and admitted that he was unable to recall the contents of his letter of 1766 "having never kept my Copy of it", but civilly added that as "I perceive I then gave you Ground to expect that I might consent to extend my original Intention of selling those Lands in the Front of your House, to accommodate you still further in your views about the Park, I should be sorry to have led you into the Buying what you would not otherwise have done, but upon the Prospect of my parting some time or other which is undoubtedly a great Convenience to my new Farm House, yet which I will certainly sacrifice, rather than be wanting in what I had ever intimated, that I might one day comply with. I shall therefore direct a Valuation to be made of those other Lands, which you have press'd for without accepting your obliging Offer, to take my Late Purchase off my Hands". A note in Sir John's own

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1. Marshall, Landed Property, 25: he also advocated the recording of oral negotiations in writing and that they should be read by all parties concerned.
 2. Mr. P. refers to Pennystone.
 3. See illustration 7.
 4. D/DBy E19 (B), 1 September 1766.

hand on the outside of this document records simply that Lord Bristol "agrees to accomodate Me with such Lands, as I want".

Another letter¹ from Lord Bristol dated 4 September followed. He stated that having seen the transcript of his letter of 1766, he was fully convinced of the extent of his former intentions. It was his desire to refer the whole business to Pennystone "who without any attention to the different Valuation of the Meadows, open, or enclos'd Fields, may settle the Price of all that you wish to have". Lord Bristol intimated that as he wished to purchase in Suffolk, he would sooner have the money than other lands in Essex. That this letter too received Griffin's close attention is again evidenced by a note in his hand on the outside of the document: "confirm the content of his last & Mr. P. to sttle the Price of all I wish to have".

The actual transaction was dealt with expeditiously Sir John getting the property on 18 September.² For these additional 237 acres with an annual rental of £129 6s. so conveniently placed to his own estate Griffin paid Lord Bristol £5,000.³ This was calculated at forty years' purchase and as such was quite a bit above the market price estimated by Young at that time, namely thirty two years' purchase.⁴ It is clear that

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1. D/DBy E19 (B), 4 September 1766.
 2. Ibid, 18 September 1766: a little of this land was in Walden.
 3. D/DBy T1/755-760; this is also recorded in the Bank Ledgers on 10 May 1774.
 4. See F.M.L. Thompson, "The Land Market in the Nineteenth Century", in Essays in Agrarian History (Newton Abbot 1968), ed. W.E. Minchinton, ii, 35. Between 1768-73, 32 years' purchase; 1778-89, 23¹/₄; 1792-9, 27 years' purchase. See also Marshall, Landed Property, 22; he stated that although generally between 25-30 years, it could vary from 20-40 years. Griffin's transaction was in effect about 39 years' purchase.

he was prepared to pay above the currently accepted price in order to extend his estate and particularly in this instance to gain lands, some of which could be seen from the principal apartments of his house,¹ and which also complimented his overall estate strategy.

Further minor transactions took place in 1774 when again matters were settled amicably.² On this occasion Sir John parted with some 16 acres in exchange for some 9 acres given by Lord Bristol.³ Two years later a small parcel of land in the Strawberry Closes was surrendered in the manor court of Littlebury and Sir John then leased it from the Lord of the manor, Lord Bristol, as this parcel was situated between lands already held by Griffin. But in 1778 negotiations between them encountered some difficulty. A series of letters⁴ from January of that year demonstrates that the triangular relationship between Bristol, Griffin and Pennystone could flounder. The difference of opinion arose over whether the ditch surrounding the Warren Ring which Sir John had purchased from Lord Bristol was included in the deal. It was important to Griffin in view of his policy of diverting some of the local byways that cut across his newly acquired property.⁵ As steward for both Bristol and Griffin, Pennystone found himself in a delicate position. In one of his letters⁶ to Pennystone

1. See illustration 7.
2. D/DBy E19 (B), 21 June 1774. A note on the outside of this bundle in Sir John's hand states: "1773 & 1774 Papers & Letters to be preser'd of Importance to A.E. relative to certain Purchases...between the E. of Bristol & myself on ye Subject. Articles sign'd which were afterwards carried into Execution". And in 1819 the 2nd Lord Braybrooke added that "These letters shd. be carefully kept tho' now of little more use than Curiosity".
3. D/DBy T5/11.
4. D/DBy E19 (B), 22 & 24 January 1778.
5. The Pepperage Lane diversion discussed above.
6. D/DBy E19 (B), 24 January 1778.

Griffin expressed his relationship with his steward as "candid & liberal; & I make no Doubt but You will equally so with Me; & not transmit any Thing on the Subject to Lord Bristol, without previously giving Me a Copy". He told Pennystone that he wanted the matter settled as soon as possible and hoped that his steward "will give it no Delay". After written exchanges,¹ Griffin was able to inform his steward by July² that "it will afford you some satisfaction when I tell you I left Lord Bristol this morning pretty well satisfied that the whole ditch surrounding the Ring is as much my property as the Ring itself, & I presume that you will no longer contravert it when you see that the 94A. 3R. 36P. expressed in the first article of the agreement signed by Lord Bristol previous to the conveyance itself cannot otherwise be accounted".

Griffin also wrote to Lord Bristol on 14 July.³ He was particularly concerned that a decision taken by them might have consequences on their successors, and Lord Bristol in his reply on 17 July⁴ expressed himself as being of the same opinion. This referred to the diversion and it is clear that not a little uneasiness was caused. But by September Griffin was writing to Pennystone who it would seem had taken matters to heart. Sir John expressed himself as being "very sorry You have been so unhappy at what pass'd last Night; & assure You it was the furthest from my Thoughts to make You so - & if you had not yourself nam'd Mr. Potterell... I should not have started the Subject which gives Me so much Uneasiness: it is well known by all my Friends that I have ever been satisfied of your

1. Ibid, both dated 29 January 1778.

2. Ibid, 5 July 1778.

3. Ibid, 14 July 1782.

4. Ibid, 17 July 1782.

Desire to promote my Wishes; & hope that in this Instance that You will help a happy & quiet Conclusion;...in this Case let the Right of the Ditch be whose it may, I have not a Doubt but Lord Bristol's Tenant, by your Interposition with his Lordship's Consent, would readily give up this Trifle, as would I am satisfied Id.B. himself...consent to any putting the Pale where I pleased".¹

By February 1779 a letter² from Griffin to Lord Bristol refers to the latter's compliance with his request, and in July³ his Lordship wrote that he had "made it a rule to do whatever was in my power to contribute to yr Satisfaction in the Embellishing of Audley Inn - without infringing upon the rights which I can only look upon myself as a kind of Guardian for those who are to succeed me". Griffin had also approached Lord Bristol with the view of taking over his manorial rights, but this his Lordship refused to contemplate. By 25 July⁴ Sir John, who did not pursue the manorial question, wrote stating that he had given immediate directions for engrossing the deeds which Pennystone was to take with him. He thanked Lord Bristol for "accommodating & favouring me with all the several Exchanges mentioned in the Deeds, & which I trust will ever be satisfactory to all Parties that may succeed us". Having brought this particular transaction to a satisfactory conclusion, he was free, as we have seen, to divert the byways in the vicinity of the Warren Ring, a part

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1. Perhaps Sir John was familiar with Edward Laurence's advice to landlords that if "he hath a faithful Steward, to study to make him as easy as possible by all fitting Encouragements", see Laurence, op.cit., 15.
 2. D/DBy E19 (B), 28 February 1779.
 3. Ibid, 16 July 1779.
 4. Ibid, 25 July 1779.

of the estate clearly visible from the great hall and saloon, and on which he had erected the Grecian temple designed by Adam.

Further transactions took place between the Bishop Earl of Bristol and Sir John in 1793. The tone of a letter from Griffin to Bristol on 14 July¹ of that year reveals the good relations that continued to exist between the two families.² Sir John was desirous of obtaining the Earl's consent for an enclosure he wanted to effect involving a field of about 30 acres. He had purchased the whole property except the right of a sheep walk that a tenant of Lord Bristol's held on lease. It transpired that the tenant was keen to cooperate provided Sir John paid him 30s. per year compensation. He also sent a copy of his letter to Lord Hervey to whom Pennystone paid the rentals. He added: "I write You see without Reserve - in Confidence at all times - but more particularly do I since our last Conversation in our Rides here, in Family Estates & Situations".³ The complete possession of this particular field was part of a larger plan that he had "at last perfected".⁴ Two days later⁵ a favourable reply was received from Lord Hervey who among other matters requested Griffin to "remember me to the good Pennystone". Lord Bristol also signalled his compliance on 6 August⁶ and it was on this happy note that their relationship ended.

1. D/DBy E19 (B), 14 July 1793.

2. The Bristol family had of course cooperated with Griffin over his claim to the Howard de Walden title in 1784, see Part 1, chapter 3.

3. The 2nd Lord Braybrooke was to complete this policy by 1814. The friendliness between the two families during Griffin's day is partly evidenced by visits to Audley End, see Hervey, (ed.), Journals of the Hon. William Hervey...1755-1814, 222, 325, 360, 384, 395, 410.

4. This particular transaction is discussed below.

5. D/DBy E19 (B), 16 July 1793.

6. Ibid, 6 August 1793.

But it was not only with the cooperative Earls of Bristol that Griffin was to do business and there are many other instances of his property procuring policy in Littlebury. At least nine separate purchases were made between 1770 and 1787.¹ For example, in 1770 George Carter, a victualler from Anstey in the neighbouring county of Hertfordshire, sold a tenement and a piece of ground for £25² and in the same year Sir John paid £1,050 to Charles Shepherd for 70 acres.³ In 1771 he paid £357 to Charles Duke, not all of which was for land in Littlebury, and his policy was facilitated further when he was granted licences to pull down those buildings on lands purchased from both Carter and Duke.⁴ By 1774⁵ he was getting hold of some of the parcels in the Strawberry Closes and this process continued in the following year when another parcel was procured from George Buck for £63.⁶ The Strawberry Closes were situated alongside the Warren Ring on the south side and near to Pepperage Lane.⁷ Another part of Littlebury to attract his attention was the Severals, on the Littlebury village side of the Warren Ring, and alongside land that he had gained from the Bristol family. In 1777 he paid Thomas and Joseph Mould £180 for four pieces in the Severals and for three pieces on the other side of the woods totalling over 6 acres.⁸ Adjoining the Severals was

1. See appendices 38 and 39.

2. D/DBy T1/459-463.

3. D/DBy T1/464-577.

4. D/DBy T1/578-595.

5. D/DBy T1/761-775, 776-785.

6. D/DBy T1/854-856.

7. See illustration 7.

8. D/DBy T4/1-15: in this instance, Sir John was to hold £20 of the purchase money until the second son, George Mould, should attain the age of 21 years.

Little Shackleton and in 1780 Sir John paid a Mr. Maurice £210 for 5 acres of which 1 acre was in Little Shackleton, 3 in Shackleton Field and 1 in Strawberry Closes.¹ Seven years later Dillingham Brampton Goedon Dillingham, Esq., was paid £750 for over 35 acres including pieces in Great Shackleton and Paradise Closes.²

Concurrently exchanges had been taking place and in 1770 Griffin gave a piece next to Shackleton Field in return for an acre in Little Shackleton and then re-purchased it in the same year. Shepherd was described as a gentleman from Icklestone in Cambridgeshire.³ Another non-resident with whom an exchange took place was Thomas Fuller, late of Walden but at the time of the transaction, 1772, living in Lincoln's Inn. On this occasion Griffin gave 4 3 7 acres and gained 4 1 33 acres.⁴ A year later further exchanges took place between them with Sir John giving 15 1 0 acres and receiving 14 2 0 acres.⁵ Griffin continued to persist with his policy of getting hold of parcels in the Strawberry Closes and in 1781 his neighbour and acquaintance James Raymond in return for 5 2 17 acres gave 5 2 9 acres including land in the Closes.⁶

Perhaps one of the more interesting of these exchanges were those with several people in Littlebury at the one time. In 1779 a transaction

1. D/DBy T4/47-57.

2. D/DBy T4/297-302; Griffin seems to have explored the possibility of gaining more land from Dillingham envisaging an act of Parliament to convey some 732 acres with a rental of £291 2s. 7d., see D/DBy E20.

3. D/DBy T5/5.

4. D/DBy T5/8.

5. D/DBy T5/10.

6. D/DBy T5/20.

involving over twenty persons was negotiated. This deed is an indenture in three parts between Sir John, the inhabitants who had common rights in the properties involved, and the Earl of Bristol as lord of the manor, and others including Pennystone and Griffin's friend and chaplain the Reverend Gretton in their capacity as trustees of the poor of the parish. By this time Sir John had made himself owner of much of the common field called Little Shackleton estimated at 21 acres and on which the several inhabitants enjoyed the right of commonage for their cattle. Understandably he wanted to free the land from such rights and in pursuance of this policy had obtained a release from Lord Bristol and the others concerned. In return Sir John granted two pieces of land for the use of the poor of the parish and this was unanimously accepted.¹ A similar exchange took place in 1793 when he gave 4 acres in return for freeing the lands he had obtained from common rights. Altogether there are twenty nine seals and signatures and they included Pennystone, Higgins and Gretton.² Indeed Griffin effected an exchange with his chaplain by giving a piece in the parish of Walden in return for a more desirable piece of Little Shackleton Field.³

But not all negotiations went smoothly. In one of his letters⁴ to the Earl of Bristol Sir John mentioned that he had been over "many, many Years in Treaty with Mr. Batt, the Proprietor of the Parsonage Farm & Great Tythes of Littlebury". His negotiations with Batt must be seen in

1. D/DBy T5/18.

2. D/DBy T5/31.

3. D/DBy T5/32: see also, D/DBy E19 (A); in 1794 he endorsed this decision and instructed his successor to see that the rents arising "should at all times be distributed to & among the poor people who from time to time had common rights over the several common fields in the parish of Littlebury".

4. D/DBy E19 (B), 14 July 1793.

conjunction with his other transactions in the parish of Littlebury, where as in Walden, his aim was to consolidate as well as to gain extra property. Negotiations began in 1777 and were not concluded until 1793 and as well as underlining the protracted nature of property procurement also reveals Sir John to be an indefatigable negotiator, showing painstaking care and determination to get hold of property considered to be desirable to his overall estate policy. Taking up much of his energy and time, this particular incident, stretching over sixteen years demonstrates the need to be methodical in filing the correspondence and accompanying data if the landowner was to recall the appropriate documents as well as the relevant details at the apposite time.

The initial approach was made by Griffin in December 1777¹ when he wrote stating that he understood that Mrs. Batt and her son were in possession of about 20 acres of land under lease to the Church of Ely and which he would be very happy to get possession. This estate was composed of one close of 7 acres and one of 3 acres, and the remaining 10 acres lay in five different pieces in Shackleton common field: all of this land was situated on the west side of the Turnpike road between Audley End and Littlebury, and as such was of considerable interest to him. Should Mrs Batt be prepared to cooperate she would be properly compensated, and it was his opinion that the Dean and Chapter of Ely might be prevailed upon to grant him a lease of the lands in question, and independent of their lease of the great tythes and other glebe land. Although happy to oblige and to "contribute in some small degree to the further ornament of so fine a place as Audley End", the reply written on behalf of Mrs Batt stated that she could not comply with Sir John's wishes, as the estate was "in

1. D/DBy E19 (A), December 1777. .

settlement upon her marriage, & no part of it can be given up by her, even upon the fullest compensation for its value".¹

Four years elapsed before correspondence was re-started. In reply to overtures received from Sir John Mr. Cooper at Chancery Lane wrote² to say that he had communicated Griffin's wishes to Mr. Batt on that very morning, 10 November 1781. Cooper reported that although there were many difficulties, Batt did "not at all despair of surmounting these", and that he promised to go down to Walden. By 15 December³ Cooper reported further that after "repeated exertions of every Endeavour" Batt could not "remove from his Mother's Mind, scruples and Apprehensions, which tho' groundless are insurmountable". He reiterated that as far as Batt and his brother were concerned there would be no difficulty in accommodating Sir John, but "this invincible Obstinacy of the Old Lady, must for a while postpone the Execution of your plan". Griffin in the meantime had purchased an estate of some 25 acres with a view of exchanging it for Batt's property.⁴

Another four years went by but Sir John continued to make enquiries and approached Mr. Cole at Lincolns Inn Fields. On 22 June 1785 Cole⁵ reported that Mrs Batt was the leasee at the Rectory and that Fairman, the Rector, believed it was a lease on lives. If an exchange was to be effected the persons principally interested were Fairman, the Bishops of Ely and London and Mrs Batt. He advised Sir John in confidence not to let

1. D/DBy E19 (A), December 1777.

2. Ibid, 10 November 1781: this letter was written by Thomas Cowper, junior, who seems to have been a solicitor.

3. Ibid, 15 December 1781.

4. Ibid, undated: the estate he had purchased with the view of exchanging was from Mr. Dillingham, see above and D/DBy T4/297-302.

5. D/DBy E19 (A), 22 June.

Fairman know or think that the exchange was of any consequence as he would "accumulate all sorts of circumstances to make the most of it". Cole put himself in Griffin's service adding that it "will be paying a debt of gratitude for the great pleasure I have for years had in seeing Audley End growing up into one of the noblest possessions in this Island - Long may you live to enjoy this Paradise of your own making". Sir John gave this latest intelligence some thought before replying on 1 August.¹ As so many parties would be involved should an act of Parliament be resorted to he confided that "I have thought of another Expedient, by which perhaps I might get the Lands I want into my hands, without any Act of Parliament at all". If he could get the consent of the leasee and a bargain made with the Rector to part with the rectory outright, he might "by my possession of which from my own Life Property, I might immediately make some advantageous Proposal to the Lessee, that would induce her to let Me into the Possession of what I want - of which I see various Ways to tempt her & Those that come after her". Further letters passed between Cole² and Griffin and Griffin and Batt.³ In the latter correspondence Sir John confessed that he had "no just Grounds to court much for want" but he did want to obtain the 20 acres or so that Mrs Batt held on three lives as they were "of great Importance to Me towards the Conclusion of a Work I have begun at A.E. & that I should be happy if possible to see completed". Acknowledging Mrs Batt's unwillingness to enter into new business "not unnatural to Us in our old Age", if she could be prevailed upon to part with the property he assured Batt that the tenant would be

1. D/DBy E19 (A), 1 August 1785.

2. Ibid, 16 August 1785. ,

3. Ibid, 27 August 1785.

allowed to continue to hold the lands on the same terms. He opened his mind further to Batt by mentioning that his plans for the properties in question were already¹ formed and expressed himself at being at Batt's mercy, and from what he knew of Batt's very liberal character he was not afraid to confess it.

Batt made his reply from Lincolns Inn Fields on 20 August.¹ Again he assured Griffin that neither he nor his brother stood in the way and promised to contact the tenant in question whose opinion he felt would carry weight with his mother. If her scruples could not be overcome and although lamenting any obstacle that might hinder that "noble plan of improvement which you are carrying on at Audley End", he flattered himself that he would stand acquitted. A week later² any hopes that Sir John had of a break-through were dashed. Mrs Batt in "infirm health,...an age rather advanced, a disposition naturally timid & apprehensive & averse from business, make her wholly unwilling to disturb in any manner a property with which she is at present very well satisfied, & from which she receives a regular income". Despite the set back, Sir John remained undaunted. In his letter of 31 August³ he referred Batt back to the initial negotiation in 1777 and explained that his only reason for changing the original plan had been due to his anticipation of too many difficulties, involving an act of Parliament. He re-iterated his own willingness to embrace either of the plans, exchange or purchase. This too failed to bring forth the desired result.⁴

Two more years went by, during which time Mrs Batt died, and in

1. Ibid, 20 August 1785.

2. Ibid, 27 August 1785.

3. Ibid, 31 August 1785.

4. Ibid, 7 September; no year is recorded.

November 1787¹ Griffin again re-opened negotiations. Once again he reminded Batt of the alternative schemes and made known his readiness to accept the one more agreeable to Batt. By this time Batt was concerned that the rectorial tithe would suffer.² The next move was directed at the rector of Littlebury with Sir John's friend and chaplain, William Gretton, who was also vicar of both Walden and Littlebury, interceding on his patron's behalf.³ Sir John also wrote to Fairman⁴ who agreed to a minor exchange between Sir John and Gretton.⁵ But despite this limited success the main business did not get under way again until the end of 1788.⁶ By this time Thomas Pennystone was also called into the correspondence saga, although from the tone of his contribution it would appear that the letter was dictated by Sir John. It transpired that by this time Griffin proposed exchanging two properties that he had fairly recently obtained, and Batt had employed William Young, a land surveyor at Chancery Lane, to look after his interests. The details contained in one of Pennystone's letters⁷ to Young indicate that Batt seemed to be more in earnest by this time, and a document drawn up on 26 November spelled out the proposals. Griffin was to give Batt a total of 34 1 17 acres at an annual value, after an agreed abatement, of £21 18s., the valuation

1. Ibid, 22 November 1787.

2. Ibid, an undated draft of Griffin's to Batt.

3. D/DBy E19 (E), 9 January 1788.

4. Ibid, 10 January 1788: the rector's name was also spelled Fayerman.

5. Ibid, 14 January 1788.

6. Ibid, November-December 1788.

7. Ibid, 26 November 1788.

having been made by Pennystone: Batt was to give Sir John a total of 19 1 2 acres at an annual value of £18 7s., the valuation having been made by Young.

But early in December¹ Young wrote to Pennystone and included a copy of Batt's answer to the steward's letter of 26 November. In this Batt expressed surprise that negotiations had been re-opened by Pennystone "after the ingracious treatment which I have received at his Lordship's hands on this subject, to find a fresh proposal made..., quite as a matter of course, without any sort of notice taken of me by his Lordship himself. "As a result he insisted that before negotiations re-opened "every expense hitherto incurred, or which may be incurred in the progress of this business, shall be borne by his Lordship". When such demands had been acceded to, he had no objection to Young considering any new proposal made by Griffin for a fair exchange of lands, "it still being my wish, notwithstanding all that had passed, to contribute to the beauty & ornament of so fine a place as Audley End". For good measure he added that his own interests had already suffered by such improvements, and had he been in possession of the rectory at that time he would have insisted on a proper compensation. Accordingly, "I must insist that you not only take care that a reasonable equivalent for the lands desir'd of me is given in present, but that effectual care be taken to protect also my interest in future". His final shaft was that Sir John should act "with fairness, & even liberality,...or he will not find Parliament, any more than myself, disposed to assist his views".

Sir John was quick to reply to these charges but did so through his steward, on 7 December.² He was not conscious of having in the least

1. Ibid, 1 December 1788.

2. Ibid, 7 December 1788.

merited the sentiments expressed by Batt and Young was requested to send an account of his charges in coming down to Audley End and Littlebury. Having studied his own copies of his earlier correspondence with Batt he could find nothing that could have given the least offence. On the contrary in looking through Batt's own letters he had found the following statement: "I (Batt) must absolutely decline all Treaty Personally with your Lordship, for the reasons formerly given & desire that Things may for the future pass between our Agents". In the light of this "absolute Injunction", argued Sir John, Batt would have been "more surpris'd at my writing to him, than he expresses himself to have been at my not writing to him". To this evidence he added that he had already given Mr. Black £10 for his expenses in travelling twice to Audley End, one of those occasions being expressly to meet and consult with Mr. Young.

Perhaps not surprisingly negotiations broke down yet again, and nothing further appears to have happened until March 1793¹ when Batt wrote to John Hatsell clerk of the House of Commons.² He let it be known that he had been in consultation with Young the land agent over the possible sale of his estate in Littlebury, and although it would give him pleasure to accommodate Sir John "by any Step not inconsistent with my own Interest, I am induced to conclude that no price that I could reasonably ask for that Estate will be an equivalent for the Sacrifice I must make in parting with it". This letter Hatsell³ passed on to Griffin with the comment that he was of the opinion that "all negotiations upon this matter is now entierly at an end". However, Sir John was still interested and

1. D/DBy E 40, 21 March 1793.

2. Sheila Lambert, Bills & Acts Legislative Procedure in Eighteenth-Century England (1971), 31.

3. D/DBy E 40, 27 March 1793.

accordingly Hatsell¹ sounded Batt about the price he would take for his property, but again no firm conclusion was reached although Hatsell in reply to Batt's question as to the value of the property had mentioned twenty four years purchase.

Within the next two weeks Sir John busied himself, and on 11 April² wrote to Hatsell from Audley End making a firm offer of £5,000. This figure was based on investigations that he had made into the estate in question. Since "being in the Country" he had endeavoured "as nearly as I can" to know the net income of Batt's estate which appeared to be about £170 per annum exclusive of the land tax which amounted to £34 per year and upwards. He admitted that his offer might appear to those unconcerned to be "rather high" but indicated that he wished to make an offer "in Proportion as I have done to other Gentlemen, & wherein I have fortunately succeeded for other Accomodations & I do assure Mr. Batt & Yourself that I shall be very ready to bear fully & thankfully to pay five Thousand Pounds for his Parsonage Farm & Great Tythes of Littlebury". Despite Hatsell's³ advice to accept this "very Magnificent" offer, Batt still delayed.⁴ While acknowledging Sir John's "very liberal offer" he was still concerned about promises given previously to his tenant. It transpired⁵ that he had promised that during his lifetime and if the tenant "behaved well" he should not be removed. Although professing to be unable to reconcile himself to the dilemma, Batt was angling for security for his tenant and the cash offered by Sir John.⁶

1. Ibid, 30 March 1793.

2. Ibid, 11 April 1793.

3. Ibid, 12 April 1793.

4. Ibid, 15 April 1793.

5. Ibid, 15 April 1793.

6. Ibid, 27 April 1793.

Ultimately this was the position that Griffin had to resolve, and in a letter to Hatsell on 1 May¹ he expressed the view that the problem was of "such a Nature as to require much serious Consideration before I can determine decisively". That he had already given the matter some thought is evidenced by his statement that "Exclusive of every other Motive the Sum of £5,000 lock'd up for a healthy Man's Life from the Power of improving its Interest beyond £135, when probably the same Sum will produce an Interest of £250 a Year is a Matter not to be pass'd over slightly". However, by 27 June² the decision to pay Batt £5,000 had been taken and to Lord Hervey in the next month³ he confided that he had "at last perfected, & which among other Things, puts me in complete Possession of the whole of the common Field in Question", which as we have seen was Shackleton. The episode confirms the view that by the second half of the eighteenth century land was more difficult to come by,⁴ and to get hold of property that he considered vital to the development of his estate and which would complete other efforts, Sir John was prepared to pay above the current market price. A good deal older by the time these protracted negotiations were eventually concluded he was also glad to get the land

1. Ibid, 1 May 1793.

2. Bank Ledger, 27 June 1793.

3. D/DBy E19 (B), 14 July 1793: the size of the estate was unspecified, but a document dated 1822 and entitled 'Memorandum on Littlebury Rectory' mentions a Commission valuation in 1803, when the whole of the Rectorial property was 660 acres and 35 poles at an annual rent of £606 0s. 6d: D/DBy E47. Littlebury was enclosed in 1805; see E.R.O. Q/RDc6; D/DQy 27.

4. See, Habakkuk, "English Land Market in the Eighteenth Century", op.cit., 157. This authority mentions that sales of land were lower in the 18th century than in the previous two centuries but "anyone" who was prepared to pay a fancy price could, of course, acquire an estate".

so that the whole business might at least end successfully from his standpoint, and on a footing that would facilitate the policy of his successor.

Although it was in the parishes of Walden and Littlebury that the vast bulk of the land procured came from, some gains were also made from two other adjoining parishes. Three purchases were made in Wendens, a parish to the south of Audley End house. In 1790 2 adjoining acres one of which abutted land already held by Griffin were bought for £30.¹ Another acre was purchased from the village innkeeper for £35 in 1795,² and a close was got from Thomas Rumbold Hall, Esq., of Ely, for £210 in 1797.³ A single purchase was made in the parish of Ashdon, on the north east side of Walden, when in 1795 John Mortlock, Esq., of Cambridge, sold Ashdon Hall manor estate for £1,535.⁴

But Sir John's ambitions were no more confined to one county than they had been to one parish. Although it was to be in the last decade of his life that he embarked upon this wider policy, he ended his life by possessing estates in Suffolk, Norfolk and Northamptonshire, as well as Essex. Regrettably the records for the out county estates are less fullsome. In a memorandum in his own hand Sir John mentioned that he paid £5,000 to Mrs. Nesbitt in 1785 for an estate in Suffolk,⁵ and the Bank Ledgers confirm that on 25 February of that year the sum of £4,932 17s. 6d. was paid to a Mrs. Mary Nesbitt.⁶ She was the mistress of the 3rd Earl

1. D/DBy T4/314-315.

2. D/DBy T4/591-597.

3. D/DBy T4/650-655.

4. D/DBy T4/598-616; see also below.

5. D/DBy F46.

6. Bank Ledgers 25 February 1785.

of Bristol and on whose death in 1779 inherited some of his property. It was part of these lands that Griffin purchased by private contract in 1785. They amounted to about 186 acres producing an annual rental of £170.¹ Griffin borrowed £2,000 to help pay for this estate and the debt was discharged by 12 August of the same year.² Apart from providing Griffin with extra land and an additional source of income in the short term, this transaction was probably made with a long term view of exchanging it with the Bristol family for part of the original Audley End estate.³ The second estate was in Norfolk and here the evidence is a little more helpful although there are no deeds. A map dated 1788 and entitled "A Map of an Estate at Winterton...the Property of the Right Honourable Lord Howard",⁴ gives its extent as 327 1 34 acres. There is no evidence to show how much was paid for it but on the basis of Kerrison's regular payments into Drummond's this property yielded £8,915 between 1783 to March 1797. Griffin had a financial⁵ interest in both these counties and an unsuccessful attempt was made by him to purchase the £20 per annum Crown rent for the lighthouses.⁶ There are also hints at minor exchanges at Winterton⁷ and to his owning land at Ellingham in the same county.⁸

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1. Hervey (ed.), The Journals of the Hon. William Hervey...1755-1814, 360.
 2. D/DBy T29: this was from Robert Palmer and the Bank Ledgers record that Sir John had a few other transactions with him.
 3. Hervey (ed.), op.cit., 360.
 4. Trinity House Mss.
 5. See Part 1, chapter 6.
 6. Trinity House Mss: a letter to Griffin from the Land Revenue Office dated 22 June 1787.
 7. Ibid.
 8. D/DBy E39.

The records are much more helpful in regard to the third out county estate in Northamptonshire. As well as extending his properties and increasing his rent roll, the purchase of the Braybrooke estate would also have brought additional satisfaction for it was the ancestral home of the Griffins, and with the purchase of this estate and his acquisition of the Braybrooke title, Sir John became the true representative of both his Howard and Griffin forebears. The title and estate were both acquired in 1788. He paid £10,000¹ for the manor and 935 3 9 acres which yielded an annual rental of £908.² There were two large farms, Castle, with some 390 acres and a rental of £380, and Church, with some 264 acres and a rental of £270. Two holdings were over 100 acres and the smallest, a cottage, had 1 1 30 acres and a rental of £1. Of the holdings the two smallest were held at will, three on seven year leases and one on a twenty one year lease. The manor lordship was in hand. The legal documents record among other data the involvement of both Sir John and his heir, the 2nd Lord Braybrooke.³ They mention being in attendance at Griffin's Town house for about two hours on 20 November 1788 "as a mode of raising money to pay for the Estate purchased", and on 20 January 1789 attending upon Mr. Neville "and taking instructions as to the settlement proposed for the newly purchased estate". The Bank Ledgers make it clear that Griffin was not short of cash at this time for the amount of stock held was increased from £10,000 in January to £23,490 14s. 6d. in July 1789.⁴

1. Bank Ledgers, February 1789.

2. D/DBY T26.

3. Ibid.

4. Bank Ledgers: it is probable that he sold some of this stock, over £13,490, to pay for this estate.

There is also reference to an Act of Parliament for enclosing Braybrooke, a move that was in keeping with his Essex policy and to be completed by his successor.¹

That Sir John was planning beyond his own day is partly evidenced by a series of documents² in which he committed his thoughts in a memorandum to his successor, Richard Aldworth Neville, and they are marked in his own hand "for R.A.N. & his early Inspection". In one of these documents, dated 30 September 1795 he directed that the "first principal object to be looked at for the benefit & comfort" of the possessor of Audley End was the Ashdon Hall manor and estates. He had already embarked upon this policy and he continued that "the first Object therefore that I should recomend is to use every Endeavour to purchase all the remaining Interests in the said Estates, & to get immediate Possession". Warning that there might be some difficulties in the way he opined "but not such I apprehend but Perseverance will get the better of - & I have already open'd Negotiation with the hopes of effecting it". Next he informed that an estate belonging to Mrs. Collins³ situated under his own park wall would come up for sale and he warned that "you must not let that slip through your Fingers". Sir John then gave it as his opinion that it would be in the interests of the proprietors of the Audley End estate "for the time being, or otherwise of Those who are to follow in Succession to act in these Respects as I myself have done, for the Benefit of the Estate itself, & its Possessors in time to come - to all therefore interested in the Subject I leave the following hints for their own prudent Observation".

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1. D/DBy T26; L7; the parish of Saffron Walden was enclosed between 1812 (Act) and 1823 (Award) see E.R.O. Q/RDC 25A: D/DBy E27.
 2. D/DBy E 19 (A), 30 September 1795.
 3. She is mentioned in his will, see D/DBy A371.

Another estate to attract his attention was one belonging to Mr. Fuller. Should this property ever be sold, the opportunity of purchasing "should never be lost", for part of the estate was situated very near to the Audley End park and other parts were interspersed with parcels belonging to his own estate. It transpired that the current owner had given his word that in the event of his disposing with either a part or the whole estate in Walden, "I should have the first Refusal of Them". There were also several detached pieces of land intermixed with his own properties around the town of Walden which were frequently for sale and for which high prices were given. But as they were let accordingly he considered that they were well worth the attention of the owners of Audley End. "All these Matters discover Themselves at once", he added, "by the mode I have had my Maps of Survey describ'd". The larger the property near to a town of some size, especially where "much of it is dispos'd in small Enclosures, so much the more will the Proprietor be respected, & look'd up to, from the Opportunities he will have of obliging his Neighbours in the hire of Them".¹ One of his own fields, called Warners, might, he reflected, be turned to good advantage by dividing it into small enclosures and he was emphatic in his opinion that this particular property "never ought on any Account to be parted with".

Reference was also made to the successful transactions with the Earls of Bristol, and to possible further transactions after his own day. Should

1. Griffin had purchased cottages in the town of Walden, for example D/DBy T4/369-388; this transaction included several tenements in Castle Street. See also S.W.Mus. Draw 14: Rate Assessment 1789. He owned properties in Church Street, Common End, Market End, Butter Market, Hill Street, Gold Street, Cucking Stool End, High Street and Castle Street. Some contemporary writers advocated this policy, see Marshall, Landed Property, 135.

the opportunity of obtaining some of the lands owned by the Bristol family in Littlebury, Wenden and Little Chesterford present itself, then in his opinion, Audley End could perhaps become "one of the most eligible Places in the Kingdom". Regaining those lands awarded to the Bristol family at the partition of the original estate, and awakening in the mind of his successor the same desire to do so, formed an integral part of Griffin's estate policy which in turn was part of his overall plan of regaining and restoring the lost dignity and prestige of his family. With the purchase of the Bristol estates in Little and Great Chesterford and the enclosing of about 3,000 acres in 1803, the 2nd Lord Braybrooke may be said to have brought Sir John's long term policy a step nearer completion.¹

1. This was completed by 1814 when the 2nd Lord Braybrooke purchased the remaining part of the Littlebury estate. For an indication of Sir John's achievement see illustration 16 and compare with illustrations 7 and 8.

(3) Farms and tenants.

But as well as drawing his successor's attention to the need to be on the look out for suitable additional property, Griffin also made known his opinion on the gains to be made from obtaining extra farms. On 30 September 1795¹ he informed that a small farm, Rowley Hill, near to one of his own main holdings, Westley farm, would be sold and would afford a further opportunity of "considerably advantaging the Estate", by taking from Westley and enlarging the projected acquisition with perhaps some additional buildings. Westley he considered was too large and greatly under-let. He felt that two better farms might be made out of both with a considerable advantage to rentals, and on this score his thinking was in keeping with some contemporary writers who advocated the enlarging of smaller farms at the expense of larger ones.² Indeed Arthur Young³ commenting on Essex farms in general considered that "these exceeding large farms are not of the greatest advantage" to the public good.

At the time of the partition⁴ there were sixteen principal farms and Griffin got seven of these: two were over 200 acres; two over 300 acres; and two over 400 acres; the seventh was only 58 acres. The largest was Westley farm and its 449 acres were farmed by Thomas Buck at an annual rent of £200 in 1753.⁵ By 1763 the acreage was divided between James Ryder and

1. D/DBy E 19 (A), 30 September 1795: see illustration 15.

2. For example, T. Comber, Real Improvements in Agriculture...(1772), 5.

3. A. Young, A Six Weeks Tour Through the Southern Counties of England and Wales (MDCCLXIX), 8.

4. D/DBy E 8 & 9.

5. D/DBy E8. For an architectural account of the main farms see Royal Commissions on Historical Monuments...in Essex, 1.

others for the same rent;¹ by 1785 it was increased to £220 and the farm was in the hands of James and Thomas Ryder; and by 1787 it was raised further to £267. By 1798² Thomas Ryder was the tenant, the size had been increased to 514 acres and the annual rental was at £263 10s. Thus of the 258 acres lying close to Westley procured by Griffin only about 64 acres were actually added to the farm itself.³

The second largest farm was St. Aylotts with 453 acres and a rental of £150 in 1753.⁴ This holding comprised of 237 acres of arable; 121 acres of pasture; 36 acres of meadow; 9 acres of lay; and 31 acres of woodland. In 1754⁵ the rent was increased to £211 7s. 6d., and the tenant Thomas Headland remained there until at least 1791, but by 1798⁶ his place had been taken by John Day. By 1761 the rent had been increased to £260 and the tenant also took additional land from Butlers farm and Little Walden got £27 per year. Five years later further modifications took place as a result of some land being given to Thomas Pennystone and the rent was reduced to £204 10s. per annum. In 1773 a new agreement was

1. D/DBy A292-296.
2. D/DBy T2/11: this document was drawn up in 1798 to help the administration as the estate passed to Mary Parker, Sir John's sister, and the house to the 2nd Lord Braybrooke, who did not actually succeed to the old demesne estate until 1802 on the death of Dr. Parker. (In 1797 the 2nd Lord Braybrooke got those lands his predecessor had purchased in Essex and out county estates). This source is also valuable because it gives some information of the estate after the series of estate account books ends in 1791 (complete year). The same data is also recorded in D/DBy E18.
3. Based on my analysis of E.R.O. D/DAd/44.
4. D/DBy E 8: see Pevsner, Essex, 309-310 for a description of this farmhouse.
5. D/DBy A292-296.
6. D/DBy T2/11.

entered into whereby the level of rent remained the same but some 13 acres and the right o sheep walk were given to Allen Taylor in return for exchanges that Sir John was effecting. A further adjustment was made in 1786 with Headland being given land previously held by the estate steward and the rent being increased to £207 per year at which level it remained until 1791. However by 1798¹ the rental was at £290 and the acreage 361. Thus during these years the overall size of this farm had been reduced from 453 to 361 acres and the 126 acres procured in the vicinity of this holding were not added to the farm itself.²

The third largest farm was the Almshouse farm at Audley End and this was also the Home farm.³ At the time of the partition⁴ it consisted of 372 acres of which 37 acres were meadow, less than an acre of pasture and the remainder arable. The tenant was also a Headland, in this instance John, and the rental was £200 per annum. This was increased to £207 in the next year and by 1757⁵ a new tenant, Robert Ives, paid £220 per annum. In 1769 a new agreement was drawn up when some lands were taken from this farm. Sir John himself took some;⁶ another part went to Pennystone and a third party was given the remainder. But despite the reduction in size the rent level was not decreased. However, when three years later Ives gained a little meadow land the rent was adjusted to £224 per year. In 1775 he lost 9 acres by the Park wall; an acre of pasture behind the new

1. D/DBy T2/11.

2. D/DAd/44.

3. This farm is also discussed separately below: see also, Pevsner, op.cit., 61.

4. D/DBy E8.

5. D/DBy A292-296.

6. See below.

cottages in the hamlet of Audley End; and land given to Thomas Fuller in lieu of 10 acres taken from the latter by Griffin for plantation purposes near the Warren Ring. Ives was compensated with 8 acres and consequent upon these adjustments Pennystone commented that the farm "is to Remain and go as Usual, without any Alteration of Rent, though this Exchange is Against the Interest of the Almshouse Farm". When in 1776 4 acres of meadowland were taken into the plantation, the rent was reduced to £219. By 1780, a new tenant, Jonathan Bowtell, had taken over and with still more land being taken into Sir John's hands, the rent was reduced further to £216 8s. Four years later it was raised to £218 18s. as a result of 8 acres being added from one of the other main holdings, Rose farm. This level of rental remained until 1791, and by 1798¹ Bowtell was paying £219 7s. per annum for 391 acres. Over the period, after a number of adjustments, its size had increased from 372 to 391 acres, and again it is clear that very little of the 246 acres gained in the region of the Home farm were actually added to this holding.²

The fourth farm according to size was Rose farm, which at the time of the partition³ stood at 363 acres with a rental of £150 per annum. The tenant was yet another Headland, in this instance, William. This land consisted of 235 acres of arable; 81 acres of pasture; 13 acres of meadow; 23 acres of lay; and 11 acres of woodland. By 1761⁴ the rental had risen to £180 and by 1775 the tenants are mentioned as William Headland's heirs. But in the following year they are named as Thomas and

1. D/DBy T2/11.

2. E.R.O. D/DAd/44.

3. D/DBy E 8.

4. D/DBy A292-296.

William Headland and the rent has been raised to £200 per annum. In 1781 a fresh agreement was entered into with the rent being lowered to £180 between the two Headlands, and a third tenant, John Wilkinson. But this was again readjusted in 1784 when it was increased to £197 10s. Although the rent level remained almost constant, it was at £196 in 1798,¹ a new tenant, Turner Clark, took over in 1786 and he was still there by the end of the period. Thus over these years the size of the farm was increased by only twenty acres, most of which must have come from lands already held, as gains in the vicinity of this holding only amounted to some two acres.²

The next in size was Pounce Hall farm. Its 289 acres at the time of the partition³ were all arable and the rental stood at £160 per annum, and the tenant was Richard Baines. By 1763⁴ his rent had been reduced to £112 and a part of the farm let to two other tenants, William Connell and Robert Savill. As a result of this adjustment the total rental came to £141 instead of the original £160. Ten years later Baines' rent was reduced further to £109 as another part of his farm as well as the right of sheep walk had been allowed to Allen Taylor in lieu of exchanges with Sir John. By 1776 Baines' heirs are mentioned as tenants and in 1778 John Baines is specifically named. Farming more land than his predecessor his rent was back to the £160 per annum level. But again further changes took place three years later. A new tenant, John Clark paid £120 but for less acreage. One of the persons to gain from this re-distribution was

1. D/DBy T2/11.

2. E.R.O. D/DAd/44.

3. D/DBy E 8.

4. D/DBy A292-296.

Richard Ward, the bricklayer, who served at Audley End for over thirty five years and became one of Sir John's tenants. By 1787 John Clark's heirs are mentioned and in 1798¹ a Susanna Clark is named, and she continued to pay £120 per annum. Over the years the size of this farm was decreased from 289 to 229 acres, and again, the 29 acres procured in the region of this holding were not actually added to the farm.²

The sixth and second smallest farm was Butlers. At the partition³ there were 248 acres and the rent stood at £120 per annum. This acreage consisted of 13 of woodland; 6 of meadow; 58 of pasture; and the remaining 171 acres were arable. The tenant at that time was James Cowell. By 1761⁴ some adjustments had resulted in a rent reduction to £97, but when John Swan became tenant in 1767 the rent was raised slightly to £100. By 1782 it had been raised further to £110, and when some land previously held by the estate steward was added the rent was increased to £110 10s. Robert Swan succeeded as tenant and remained throughout the period, and although the rent level was reduced to £104 10s. in 1790, it stood at £120 in 1798.⁵ Over the years the size of this holding was reduced from 248 to 213 acres, thus although some 130 acres were procured in the region of this farm, they were not actually added to it.⁶ The seventh farm, Monks Hall, and about which less is known, stood at 58 acres and a rental of £36 per annum in 1798.⁷

1. D/DBy T2/11.

2. E.R.O. D/DAd/44.

3. D/DBy E8.

4. D/DBy A292-296.

5. D/DBy T2/11.

6. E.R.O. D/DAd/44.

7. D/DBy T2/11.

But as well as those farms that formed part of his inheritance, Sir John's overall estate policy was to give him a number of other farms. For instance in October 1768¹ he purchased from Joseph Collins for £2,000 Birds Farm consisting of some 125 acres, which at the time brought in an annual rent of £62. In October 1770² Griffin purchased a farm from Charles Shepherd in Littlebury when £1,050 and about 70 acres changed hands. In October 1788³ he paid Mrs. Ingreys £1,741 5s. for a farm at North End comprising of over 92 acres and with a rental of £63 per annum. In November 1795⁴ he purchased part of Ashdon Hall farm from John Mortlock for £1,535 which had a rental of £131 1s. 6d. That he was also on the look out for conveniently placed farms, such as Rowley Hill, mentioned above, reveals that his thinking on this score went beyond his own tenure of the estate.

But concerned though he was to add to the number of farms already held, it is also clear that by and large his attitude towards the main farms was subordinate to his overall estate policy. In extending the size and attempting to make his properties more compact, he was prepared to make adjustments in the size and composition of his main farms in the light of exchanges and purchases taking place. In short he was at times sacrificing the interests of the individual farms in the short run for overall estate gains in the long term.

But another reason why there was some adjustment in both size and rental level of the main holdings was that he was encountering difficulty

1. D/DBy T1/301-333; E.R.O. D/Dad/44. See illustration 15.

2. D/DBy T1/464-577.

3. D/DBy T4/316-362.

4. D/DBy T4/598-616.

in finding substantial tenants. For instance the reduction of Westley and Pounce Hall farms and their subsequent re-letting to a plurality of tenants at the same time suggests that the two original tenants¹ of these farms found it difficult to run holdings of that size, Westley being 449 and Pounce Hall 289 acres. Indeed, Sir John himself was of the opinion that Westley was too large and it is noteworthy that the properties acquired in the vicinity of his main holdings were not actually added to the farms themselves.² It is also known that Saffron Walden was not an affluent area at this time.

His first audit in 1754 shows that there were forty nine tenants on his side of the original estate and by the first audit of 1791 there were about eighty in the second audit of that year, the last covered by the estate account books.³ In the light of Griffin's policy of exchanging and purchasing plots of land throughout the period, along with his adjustments to land already held, it is understandable that the number of tenants should fluctuate from time to time. Added to this is that on occasions some parcels were untenanted for short periods of time, so that numbers of tenants could vary from audit to audit. Understandably, too, the composition of tenants had changed during these years. In the first audit in 1791 there were thirty three tenants on the old demesne lands plus an unspecified number who occupied the old demesne cottages at the hamlet of Audley End. There were eleven holding lands exchanged during the period,

1. The Headland family farmed under the Earls of Suffolk, see D/DBy E5.

2. See G.E. Mingay, "The Size of Farms in the Eighteenth Century", Econ. Hist. Rev. 2nd Series, XIV, No.3, April 1962, 469-488.

3. D/DBy A292-296.

twenty nine on lands purchased and again an unspecified number in cottages, and finally eight tenants on those properties purchased from Thomas Pennystone.

As far as some of the main farms were concerned, they might have been let for life, or under running leases¹, with more than one generation of the same family succeeding to one of the farms. It might well be that Griffin partly followed Kent's² advice that if the landlords "choose to lengthen the term, the tenant will generally do the work". But the apparent difficulty of finding substantial tenants would also have had a bearing on his thinking in this direction. In terms of actual farming practice, again it is clear that agreements were drawn up or fresh ones made in the light of land adjustment, but as they have not survived it cannot be ascertained whether they included clauses other than the actual contract. However, in view of what is known about his estate priorities it might well be that his main concern was to maintain the current standards of farming rather than insert covenants aimed at promoting the most recent husbandry practices. In the light of what is known of the estate under the last Earls of Suffolk³ and of prevailing conditions in the neighbourhood, he might well have accepted Edward

1. This practice was quite common in Essex and virtually amounted to a 21 year lease, as a result of running leases for three seven year periods. This practice is mentioned by Vancouver and Young, although the latter complained that leases were rapidly going out of fashion in the county, see op.cit., 1, 97-8.

2. N. Kent, Hints to Gentlemen of Landed Property (MDCCLXXVI), 102.

3. D/DBy E 8 & 9; see also, Addison, op.cit., 190-196.

Laurence's¹ advice that if tenants "are bound down to hard Measures and Articles, regarding only the Interest of the Lord, they will have no Encouragement to improve their Farms, but on the contrary will be tempted to contrive Ways to evade the Force of their Leases to supply Deficiencies". It might well be that Sir John kept the rent level fairly steady in return for some improvements by the tenants themselves. In view of the agricultural depression,² the partition of the estate as well as to the local economic difficulties in the second half of the century, he might also have accepted the point of view expressed by Malthus³ that to delay raising rents was "to give a little time for the accumulation of capital on the land, of which the landowner is sure to feel the full benefit in the end". In the absence of specific evidence to the contrary, and in the light of his general estate policy, and on the evidence of the husbandry practices on the Home farm, then it would seem that Sir John was primarily concerned to maintain prevailing standards and as such cannot be regarded as being among the pioneers of the new husbandry.⁴ There is no indication that farm books⁵ were kept, and if there were, none have survived, other than for the Home farm.

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1. Laurence, Duty of a Land Steward, 15.
 2. G.E. Mingay, "The Agricultural Depression, 1730-1750", Econ.Hist.Rev. 2nd Series, v.VIII, No.3, April 1956, 328-338.
 3. T.R. Malthus, Principles of Political Economy... (1836) 2nd ed.), 191.
 4. See, An Account of the Proceedings, Intentions, Resolutions, and Premiums, of the Essex Society, For the Encouragement of Agriculture and Industry Instituted at Chelmsford September 30, 1793. Griffin was President for one year, but more one suspects for his position as Lord Lieutenant. The Audley End estate was not represented on the committee, although Sir John was a subscriber.
 5. See, E.J.T. Collins, "Historical Farm Records", Archives, VII (1965-55), 143-149. The home farm was not usually a typical farming unit.

(4) The Home farm.

The Almshouse or Home farm was situated a little to the south of the house and is approached along Ozier Lane which passes through the hamlet o Audley End.¹ At the time of the partition² it had 372 acres of which 334 were arable, some 37 acres meadow and less than an acre of pasture. By 1792³ it had been enlarged to 576 acres of which 137 acres were arable and 439 acres pasture. Of this total 274 acres were in the parish of Walden, some 263 acres in the parish of Littlebury and some 12 acres in the parish of Wendens. The additional land resulted from Griffin's transactions particularly with the Earls of Bristol. But it was not only the size of the farm that changed during this period, for from being entirely arable it became predominantly pasture, four acres of pasture to every acre of arable.

Our knowledge of the Home farm rests on three very large green bound volumes for the years 1772 to 1803,⁴ and a single slim volume covering the years 1775 to 1809⁵ and another similar sized volume for the years 1790 to 1805.⁶ Collectively they indicate that from 1772 Griffin brought the same methodical and meticulous approach to bear on the running of his Home farm. Directly related to both household and estate, this area was brought into line with improvements that already had been initiated in

1. See illustration 8. The tenant of the Almshouse Farm was allowed £26 per annum for 10 poor persons in the Almshouse itself.

2. D/DBy E 8.

3. The discrepancy in the acreage is explained below.

4. D/DBy A262, 1772-1780; A263, 1780-1789; A264, 1790-1803.

5. D/DBy A291.

6. D/DBy A316.

those two departments. These volumes are as impressive as other aspects of the overall central administration and are the work of Martin Nockold, Sir John's nurseryman and bailiff.¹ The same high standards of book-keeping is evident and again this was maintained during the period. These volumes are organised on the double entry system with both monthly and annual totals being recorded. It is clear that Griffin started farming on a semi commercial basis from at least 1772, and from 1775 he signed these personally as he did the other main accounts. From 1776 the annual value of the Home farm in terms of livestock, crops and implements was assessed. The single slim bound volume for the years 1775 to 1809 forms an abstract of the financial transactions of the three large volumes and is also organised on the double entry system, with each folio representing one year. The other volume is entitled "Corn Book" and shows in some detail the types and quantities of grain grown and threshed between 1790 and 1805, and how it was used. From 1772 the different departments within the general framework transacted with each other on a cash basis.² That the size of this farm is shown to be larger in these sources was due to part of the lands that constituted the Home farm being kept in Sir John's hands, and only the part leased to the tenant was recorded in the estate accounts. Hence the 391 acres recorded for rental purposes in 1798,³ whereas in effect the actual size of the holding was 576 acres, including part of Audley End Park as well as the Farm.

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1. He was succeeded by his son, Jacob, described by Arthur Young as "successful" and "very intelligent bailiff": see, Young, General View, 240 & 390.
 2. The departmental allocation of costs was an innovation of the eighteenth century: see Pollard, op.cit., 219.
 3. D/DBy T2/11.

In 1772¹ when the first annual balance was recorded, a deficit of £106 10s. 11d. was shown: this was the only unfavourable balance during the period. Thereafter it rose from as low as £74 4s. 11d. in 1773, to as high as £543 12s. 9³/₄d. in 1793, indicating that profits remained at a modest level during these years. But the balance figures do not alone reveal the exact extent of farm activities even within the financial framework. In 1773 the total financial activity amounted to £1,313 7s. 2d.; by 1796, the last complete year of Sir Jonn's tenure, had increased by over 150 per cent and the level was at £3,043 8s. 9³/₄d. The debit side had more than doubled and the credit side had increased some two and a half times. The total debit side amounted to £21,627 6s. 9³/₄d. and the total credit side to £30,864 11s. 9¹/₄d. between 1773 and 1797, which figures indicate a considerable amount of financial activity.

This increase in the tempo of activities is only partly explained by analysing the personnel side of the Home farm. In 1775² the amount spent on wages was £128 6s. 0¹/₂d, and this changed little until 1796 when the annual figure was £260 17s. 11d. Apart from the tenant, seven workmen were employed in April 1772 and sixteen in January 1796. Initially the labour force comprised of a shepherd and a boy helper; a dairy man; two carters with one adult and one boy helpers. In 1796 there were the following personnel: a yardsman; a carter; a cowman; a shepherd; two men engaged for ploughing; one adult for "jobbing". With these seven men there were also nine boys: three helped with "jobbing"; one assisted the shepherd; another was engaged "Keeping Dry Flock"; one helped the ploughmen; one worked alongside the carter; one was employed "Knocking

1. For annual balance 1772-1797, see appendix 41.

2. D/DBY A291.

Dung"; and finally one was paid for "Keeping Cows off Pease". Clearly some of these activities were seasonal, and the employment of boys is another noteworthy factor. An examination of surnames suggests that some of the boys employed were either the sons or relatives of some of the men folk. Above these fairly regular employees there were others called in for specific purposes. For instance in April 1796 three men were taken on to plant potatoes; in August six men were engaged in mowing the rough pastures; in September three boys were employed to keep the bullocks, cows and hogs in the stubble. But it was only in this last complete year that there was a noticeable increase in the level of employment, for between 1775 and 1795 the amount spent on wages varied from £101 7s. 5d. to £189 10s. 8d.

An analysis of the husbandry implements shows that the valuation in 1776 was £97¹ and over the period it varied from £86 in 1778 to £140 in 1780. In 1776 the implements included: four waggons, five carts, five ploughs, two pair of harrows, a "rowl", corn sieves, screen frames, rakes, forks, sacks, ropes, chaff cutting tools, collars, hammers, timbers, chains and so on. In terms of capital investment this did not represent a high figure, and by the end of the period the picture was much the same. In 1797 there were four waggons valued at £4 each; four carts at £6 each; ploughs, harrows, rolls; timber carriage at £10; corn screens, fans, sacks, etc. at £15; horse collars and saddles etc. at £12; hurdles, cow cribs, forks, drag rakes etc. at £15. Due to the absence of more precise data it is not possible to tell what concessions were made to improvements currently taken place, but on the basis of this evidence it would appear that the Home farm was in keeping with the norm in Essex, a county not

1. D/DBy A262-264; see appendix 42.

considered to be in the advance of agricultural implements.¹ To this must be added that as Griffin was mainly concerned with pastoral farming, the need for heavy investment in this area was not necessary.

On the question of arable farming there was a marked switch during these years to pasture. North west Essex² was considered to be sheep and barley country, and in the main Griffin farmed on this basis. Vancouver³ described the district as being of "a temperate and heavy mixed soil, upon a chalk, a gravel, a burrock...a tile earth, and a blue and white chalky clay", and the Home farm itself was situated in the south west part of District 13 of his General View. In 1776⁴ corn was valued at £50 and hay and turnips etc. at £200.⁵ By 1797 corn was at £359 8s. and hay etc., at £465 5s. The lowest valuation of corn was in 1776 when it was at £50 and the highest in 1796 when it was at £397 2s. For hay the lowest was again in 1776 when the figure was £200 and the highest in 1787 when it was £784 6s. In terms of crop composition the corn in 1776 was made up of 35 quarters of barley, 2½ quarters of peas and 2 quarters of tares. By 1780 140 quarters of barley were grown, 8 quarters of grey

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1. Messrs. Griggs, General View of the Agriculture of the County of Essex, with Observations on the Means of Its Improvement (1794), 17-18: See also, J.D. Chambers & G.E. Mingay, The Agricultural Revolution 1750-1880 (1966), 69-71; G.E. Fussell, The Farmer's Tools 1500-1900 The history of British farm implements tools and machinery before the tractor (1952).
 2. For an analysis of farming "countries", see, E. Kerridge, The Agricultural Revolution (1967): Saffron Walden is included in the Chiltern "country".
 3. C. Vancouver, General View of the Agriculture in the County of Essex; with Observations on the Means of its Improvement (1795), 104. See also, Young, op.cit., 1, 26. "About Audley End, the hills are all chalk, and the vales good loam or gravel, but with variations. On the hills, the soil is thin, in some places not more than four or five inches on the chalk, and they burn in hot summer. Much of the chalk is hard, and bad to plough up; for which reason they are careful not to plough too deep. Elm thrive in the vales and they have a proverb - Good elm, good barley: good oak, good wheat!
 4. This discussion is based on D/DBy A262-264. For tillage pattern, see appendix 43.
 5. See appendix 42.

peas, 8 quarters of white garden peas, 9 quarters of tares and 6 quarters of oats. Three years later barley was still the predominant corn crop, but oats had risen to 30 quarters. Ten years later 165 quarters of barley were grown against 34 quarters of oats, and as well as peas there were also 2 quarters of buckwheat and 2 quarters of rye. In 1796, the peak year for corn, barley retained its predominance and was at 185 quarters, peas had risen to 15 quarters, there were 28 quarters of oats and 6 quarters of buckwheat. In the final year barley was at 140 quarters, oats was up to 60 quarters, peas at 17 quarters, buckwheat at 6 quarters and there was also 35 quarters of wheat.

The hay section is misleading because it also included some corn. In 1776 a total of 105 load of hay was recorded, consisting of 85 of park hay and 20 load of meadow hay. In 1777 there were 95 load of park hay, 6 load of sainfoin, 30 load of meadow hay, 10 load of barley straw, 3 load of pea straw and 35 acres of turnips. Five years later there were 190 load of park hay, 30 load of straw and 40 acres of turnips. In 1787 there were 85 load of sanfoin, 130 load of grass hay, 12 load of straw, 5 acres of cabbages, 4 acres of turnips and 18 acres of rye. Finally, in 1797, there were about 30 ton of hay, 30 ton of lesser quality hay, 20 load of straw, 25 acres of turnips, 12 acres of wheat, 10 acres of rye and $3\frac{1}{2}$ acres of tares.

In terms of cost per quarter, load or acre, barley was at 25s. per quarter in 1776; at 20s. in 1777; at 17s. in 1780; had risen to 30s. in 1783, and was still at that level in 1793; rose to 34s. in 1796 before dropping to 28s. per quarter in 1797. Peas rose from 26s. per quarter in 1776 to 36s. in 1793 and to 48s. in 1796, before again dropping in 1797 to 52s. In 1776 park hay was at 40s. per load and meadow hay at 30s. per load. By 1797 hay was at £5 and £4 10s. per ton with the type not being specified.

The livestock¹ was divided into horses, "neat" cattle, sheep and hogs. In 1776 there were 11 horses valued at £140 8s. and in 1797 there were 10 valued at £205. Their numbers varied between 8 and 13, and in 1776 they consisted of 1 two year old gelding, 3 four year old geldings, 1 four year old bay, 2 five year old black and brown, 1 seven year old black and 3 "aged" black horses. The "neat" cattle varied from 32 in 1776 to 38 in 1797, the lowest number being 19 in 1787 and the highest 45 in 1795. In 1776 the cattle were valued at £184 8s. and in 1797 at £389 10s. In the former year they comprised of 11 "aged" cows for the use of the dairy, 5 heffers, 1 bull, 1 weaning calf, 6 Welsh bullocks for fattening, 6 Galloway Scots, and 2 Highland Scots for the same purpose. By 1797 there were 20 cows, 2 bulls, 5 "fat" Welsh heffers and 11 Welsh heffers. The third component was sheep. In 1776 there were 392 sheep valued at £355 6s., and in 1797 there were 385 valued at £554 5s. The size of the flock in 1797 marked the lowest in any one year and the maximum size was reached in 1785 when there were 613 sheep, valued at £602 15s. In 1776 there were 280 ewes, 4 rams, 51 weather sheep and 50 ewe hoggarts. Apart from the economic value of sheep, there was also the aesthetic-economic advantage and as Arthur Young² later observed "the lawns at Audley-end are extensive, and must be kept close fed for beauty". The fourth type of livestock was hogs. In 1776 there were 25 valued at £38 and in 1797 there were 79 valued at £170 9s. Their number was down to 20 in 1778 and the most at any one

1. See appendix 44: "If Essex fails in any one part of husbandry, it is the kind of stock it tends to market, which seem to be brought in without any sort of preference to this or that pastoral breed...and it is hoped that an infant agricultural society,...will tend to correct this great error". Griggs, op.cit., 23.

2. Young, General View, 339.

time was in the last year of Griffin's life. In 1776 there were 5 breeding sows, 2 boars, 8 store pigs and 10 fat pigs. In 1797 the composition was 6 bacon hogs, 10 fat pigs, 11 porkers, 9 store pigs, 10 sows, 2 boars and 12 young pigs. As with the other two sections, implements and crops, there was no spectacular change during Griffin's stewardship, and the Home farm was clearly run on mixed farming lines and was essentially geared to serve the needs of the household in its widest sense.

The "Corn Book"¹ throws some light on the exact nature of this relationship. This volume records how much barley, peas, buckwheat, oats, rye, wheat and masling were grown each year after 1790. It records the threshing activities between September and June and the use to which these crops were put over the year. In the main the corn or grain crops were ear marked for the different household departments, including after the great house, the menagerie, fowls on the river and farm, the stables, the pheasants and hogs. Some was sold outside the household, for instance to Mr. Cole and then to Mr. Archer both of whom resided in Walden, and also to some of the workmen on the estate and other people particularly in 1795 and 1796,² years of food shortage. Peas³ were used mainly for the hogs, fattening the sheep, pigeons, some for seed and small quantities to outside persons. Buckwheat was used by the gamekeeper and menagerie man, for store pigs, hogs and young pigs, and seed. Oats was used primarily for feeding

1. D/DBy A316.

2. See Part 1, chapter 4.

3. Grey peas in particular were considered "with a great deal of reason, the hardiest of hog peas, and is of a good size, and preferred to all others for the chalky soils". See, Ellis's Husbandry Abridged and Methodized Comprehending the Most Useful Articles of Practical Agriculture, 2 vols. (MDCCLXXII), i, 360.

the farm horses. Rye was ground for the hogs and young pigs as well as seed. Generally wheat was earmarked "for the use of the Family" as well as for seed. Masling went to sundry people and to the hogs. Thus on the basis of this one source, it is clear that these crops were used to sustain the Audley End household, which meant to sustain a distinctive way of life, for with Sir John, the gamekeeper, menagerie man and so on were important personages, reflecting the particular interest of their master.

In terms of livestock, as already observed,¹ again the Home farm was run predominantly for the purpose of sustaining the daily needs of the household, but it was not run exclusively for this end and there were sales of stock to outside personages from 1772. For instance six score weather sheep and four score ewe lambs were sold for £135 in 1790. Wool was sold and 35 tod 14 pounds brought in £28 3s. in 1772, and 31 tod of Norfolk wool brought in £57 7s. in 1793. Other sales included bulls, bullocks, hides, tallow, Welsh heffers, suckling calves, cows, horses, steers ready fattened, pigs and so on. Generally these sales were made to persons in the locality, and the Home farm was run during Griffin's time on a semi rather than on a full commercial footing in terms of extra household activities.

But in terms of its administration and relationship with the household the Home farm was clearly run on a businesslike basis. On the debit side the cash paid to the wheelwright, collarmaker, labour, and other commodities purchased are all carefully recorded. On the credit side the stock, crops and faggots sold to the household itself, or to its various departments such as the stables, kennels, menagerie or pleasure grounds, as well as to outside persons, are all clearly and carefully itemized. From 1773 the Home

1. See Part III.

farm was run at a profit and the employment of a bailiff and meticulous book-keeping all point to the expectation that this farm should be run in an efficient and businesslike manner.¹ It might well be that the standards set on the Home farm had some influence on the way some of the other main farms were run, for the quality of administration at this micro level was in keeping with the standards adhered to at the macro level of the estate itself.² Although less ambitious than his successor³ was to be in this respect, Griffin at least fulfilled the principal object of husbandry as stated by Harte,⁴ namely to see that "expenses exceed not the profit".

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1. There is little indication of experimentation. See, H.J. Habakkuk, "Economic Functions of English Landowners in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries" in Essays in Agrarian History, i, 190-191.
 2. Certainly this seems to have been the case with farm buildings. The insurance policy in 1803, probably at the time when the 2nd Lord Braybrooke succeeded to the old demesne lands on the death of Dr. Parker, shows the extent and nature of the buildings on the main holdings. They seem to have been purpose-used if not purpose-built and indicate a pattern of mixed farming. Among the buildings listed for most of the main farms were the following: small and large barns; stables; chaffe house; cow house; hay house or barn; cart lodge; granary. Above these St. Ayletts had a brewhouse, dairy and dove house; Rose farm a wheat barn and dovehouse; Duck Street a strawhouse and hogsties sheds; Westley farm a wheat barn, dairy and brewhouse; and Audley End farm a dairy, brewhouse, wheat barn and peas barn. See D/DBY E17.
 3. The difference between Griffin and his immediate successor as farmers is partly evidenced by their handling of the Home Farm. Whereas Griffin farmed 576 acres, not all on his own land, and of which only 137 were arable, the 2nd Lord Braybrooke kept 1100 acres in his own hand of which about 400 acres was arable. See, Young, General View, 60.
 4. Harte, Essays in Husbandry (1764), 65. In some ways these Home Farm Accounts were micro management rather than full production accounts.

(5) Finances.

At the time of the partition¹ the total revenue of the original estate came to £4,666 10s. 6d. This figure was composed of rentals at £3,648 3s. 4d.; quit rents at £192 3s. 3d.; manor court profits at £200; the sale of underwood brought in £300; and a further £300 came from Audley End house and park. Sir John's half or the Walden part of the estate yielded a net income of £2,048 2s. 4³/₄d. in 1754² and by 1791, the last full year in the series of estate account books, this level had increased to £3,196 13s. Representing an increase of over 50 per cent, this was mainly due to Griffin's policy of extending the overall size of his part of the original estate. In 1754 the level of disbursements was at £1,168 15s. 5¹/₂d, giving a net balance of £879 6s. 11³/₄d: by 1791 the level of disbursements had more than doubled and was at £2,876 6s. 10d, and the balance had been reduced to £320 6s. 2d. But this balance statement is misleading and needs further comment. Down to the second half of 1771 the balance was arrived at by a simple deduction of disbursements from income, but from that time the disbursement figures also include cash paid to Sir John. Thus the balance in point of fact was more, and usually considerably more, than was suggested by the bald annual balance statement.³ What happened was that the level of disbursements dropped considerably in the late 1770s and the excess cash was pocketed by Sir John for other purposes, for it was not ploughed back in the form of disbursements although

1. D/DBy E 9.

2. D/DBy A292-A296; this financial discussion is based on my analysis of these sources.

3. For instance, in the first half of 1784 the balance is shown as £42 10s. 0¹/₂d. whereas the sum of £1,200 was paid on three separate occasions into Griffin's hands.

it might well have been earmarked for paying for the additional properties that were being consistently procured.¹

Throughout his stewardship the double entry² system was adhered to and there were half yearly audits, the one following Lady Day and the other following Michaelmas. On the credit side the main components of estate income were: rents, quit rents, tithes, manorial court fines, sales of bark and underwood, and sundry items. This arrangement is similar to the one advocated by John Mordant³ although there was some modification over the years as a result of Griffin's main strategy. The format adhered to in terms of rentals from land let was the following: arrears of rent; tenants' names; half year's rent; land tax allowed; fire; boot allowed to tenants in money;⁴ net money received; and arrears "standing out".⁵ Almost without exception⁶ the audits were held at the "Rose and Crown" inn in Saffron Walden and it is generally agreed that regular collection at the same place helped towards sound management.

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1. There are a few examples to show that some of the cash was earmarked for such purposes; in 1779 £315 was paid for purchasing Mr. Gibbin's estate and in 1780 £210 for purchasing land from Mr. Ebenezer Maurice.
 2. "The balancing procedures adopted throw light on the extent to which the owners of the ledgers needed brief, synoptic statements of the progress and position of their affairs and activities, as distinct from the type of information which they could obtain by paging through a ledger or by examining individual ledger accounts". See, Yamey & others, op.cit., 186: "...one suspects that in many instances the landlord's insistence on well kept accounts may have been less inspired by motives of profit than by a keen desire to prevent fraud by dishonest bailiffs"; Collins, 'Historical Farm Records', op.cit., 146.
 3. J. Mordant, The Complete Steward or the Duty of a Steward to his Lord... (MDCCLXI), ii, 18.
 4. Fire, boot allowance was discontinued in 1754. Land tax was deducted at source and varied from as much as over £90 in 1764 to 3s. in 1774.
 5. Rent arrears were kept to a minimum after 1754, and for most of the period were in shillings and pence. Very occasionally a bad debt was ordered to be discharged as in the case of Thomas Leverett in 1760 when the figure was £1 2s. 6d.
 6. They were held at "Audley End Great House" on both occasions in 1761.

In 1754¹ the net half year rentals were £592 3s. 10½d. and £748 17s. 10½d. making an annual total of £1,341 1s. 9d.² The practice of recording rents in this manner continued to 1770, from which time a sub-division was made into rents from old demesne lands, from lands exchanged and from lands purchased by Griffin. Reflecting his overall estate strategy it is understandable that there were variations in the exact acreage held from year to year and consequently in the level of the rentals. The old demesne rents were at £1,450 3s. 9d. in 1770; at £1,338 8s. in 1777; and in the last complete year reached their highest level at £1,555 8s. 4d. per annum. Thus over the period the annual rent level on demesne lands rose but very slightly, £214 6s. 6d. in thirty seven years.³ In 1770 rents from the lands gained via exchange came to £16 4s. 6d.; in 1774 they were down to £12 9s.; they reached their highest level in 1784 when they were at £47 11s. 6d.; and by 1791 they stood at £39 9s. 6d. Rents from properties gained by purchase were at £198 9s. in 1770; at £332 4s. 6d. five years later; dropped to £238 17s. in 1779; and climbed back to their highest level in 1791 when they were at £387 19s. 4d. Lands purchased from his estate steward were treated separately from 1786. On this score the level was consistent,

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1. In the first audit after the partition the two proprietors of the Walden estate were William Whitwell and Griffin, and after the former's death in 1755 Ann Whitwell and Griffin. He became sole proprietor on the death of his mother in 1770, although it might well be that the land steward was merely observing the legal position.
 2. See appendix 45.
 3. For discussions of rent levels see R.A.C. Parker, "Coke of Norfolk and the Agrarian Revolution", Econ.Hist.Rev., 2nd Series, viii, No.2, (Dec.1955), 156-166. See also H.G. Hunt, "Agricultural Rent in South East England, 1788-1825", Agric.Hist.Rev., (1958-59), 98-108.

£153 14s. 8d. per annum, and totalling £922 8s. by 1791. The annual rent level rose from £1,341 1s. 9d. in 1754 to £2,136 11s. 10d. in 1791. Representing a rise of £795 10s. 1d. or nearly 60 per cent this came predominantly from an acreage that had risen by about 30 per cent. Over the period as a whole rents between 1754 to 1769 amounted to £20,681 0s. 2½d; between 1770 and 1791 demesne rents came to £32,193 15s. 8½d.; rents from exchanged properties to £690 1s.; from purchased lands to £6,311 13s. 1d.; and lands purchased from Pennystone to £922 8s. The grand total of rents from land amounted to £60,798 18s. 0½d.

Above this rent was also received from Audley End mill between 1770 and 1777. For these years this was treated as a separate item of income. The rent was paid twice a year and varied between £15 17s. 6d. and £16 13s. 3d. per half year. Altogether this source yielded £262 2s. 9d., but disappears after 1777.¹ Regular income came from the sale of bark, to the local tanners, and from the sale of underwood.² Sales to the tanners brought in from as little as £7 2s. in 1757 to as much as £186 18s. in 1764. Altogether these sales gave a total income of £2,165 19s. 1d. Sales of underwood yielded returns from as low as £85 5s. in 1757 to as much as £576 9s. 3d. in 1764, and over the years this amounted to £11,999 16s. 6½d.

Another source of income, treated as estate, although to be more precise it was manorial, was the quit rent. Apart from a few exceptions this rent was received annually.³ In 1754 the quit rent amounted to

1. The reason for this is discussed below.

2. The sale of wood was an important if subsidiary source of income for eighteenth century landowners.

3. There were two payments in 1757.

£88 17s. 9d. and in 1791 to £62 19s. 10d.: apart from 1790 when the figure was 1s. 3d. less than in 1791, these figures represent the low and high levels of this particular item of income. Over the whole period this source yielded £2,869 19s. 5½d. Thus Griffin seems to have used this lever to augment his landed income rather than directly raise the level of estate rents. Further, as Lord of the manors of Brooke and Chipping Walden he received an income from the fines imposed at the respective manorial courts.¹ These were itemised according to the general court baron or to the special court baron fines. The former varied from as little as £14 2s. 11d. in 1773, to as much as £353 16s. 7d. in 1787. Fines from this court amounted to £4,507 4s. 3½d. Fines from the special court baron varied between £12 in 1762 and £210 in 1786. As these fines were levied in special and not regular courts, there were many years when no income was derived from this source. Over the years these fines totalled £826 10s.

As lay rector of the parish of Saffron Walden Sir John also received the great tithes.² Paid on an annual basis they varied between £232 5s. 5½d. in 1759 and £445 7s. 10d. in 1791, the latter figure being considerably higher than in any other year, the next highest being £298 2s. 1d. in 1789. Even so, the total income from this source came to £9,741 2s. 8½d. Finally there is income derived from sundry sources.³ As might be expected these payments were irregular and varied from as little as 4s. in 1766 to as much as £388 3s. 10d., which figure included

1. See S. & Beatrice Webb, English Local Government The Manor and the Borough Part 1 (1963), 9-126.

2. D/DBy E43.

3. I have used this for irregular payments that do not fit the framework.

rent from Littlebury water mill.¹ Altogether a total of £1,129 1s. 2¹/₄d. was paid in from these miscellaneous sources.

Thus from an analysis of the main components of estate income the following overall financial picture emerges on the credit side :

Table 2			
Land rents (all sections)	£60,798	18	0 ¹ / ₂
Audley End water mill	262	2	9
Bark sales	2,165	19	1
Underwood sales	11,999	16	6 ¹ / ₂
Quit rents	2,869	19	5 ¹ / ₂
General Court rents	4,507	4	3 ¹ / ₂
Special Court rents	826	10	0
Great tithes	9,741	2	8 ¹ / ₂
Sundry	1,129	1	2 ¹ / ₄
	£94,300	14	0 ³ / ₄

All in all, therefore, the estate and its allied activities gave Griffin an input figure of £94,300 14s. 0³/₄d, which averaged £2,548 per year giving a projected total of £108,100.²

1. This is discussed separately below.

2. See Part 1, chapter 6, I projected the global total, that is, for the years 1792-1797 which are not covered by the estate ledgers D/DBY A292-296. See appendix 45.

An analysis of the debit side of estate finances might be considered from two standpoints, disbursements and investment, although the estate records do not make this clear cut division. In 1754 the level of disbursements was at £1,168 15s. 5½d., and this was maintained until 1772 when the figure was at £1,408 17s. 0½d. But in 1775 it rose sharply to £2,035 12s. 9d., and in 1777 was at £2,335 17s. 7½d., the highest level for the period. In 1778 it dropped very sharply to £626 16s. 3d. and fluctuated between about £500 and £700 for the remaining years.¹ The main item of disbursements to 1776 was the payment of £800 per annum to the Dowager Duchess of Suffolk, which encumbrance must have been considered a comparatively heavy financial burden in view of the size of the estate.² After the death of his mother in 1770 further annuities were paid: £25 to his brother Mathew and £25 each to his three sisters, which decreased as each of them died.

After these encumbrances most of the disbursements went on general repair work, and here, Sir John could have been acting upon guidance proffered by Nathaniel Kent,³ namely, that the second object in the management of an estate "related to skill, and frugality, in the construction of such necessary buildings as the state may require,...". Indeed, some contemporary writers argued that money was better spent in improving old

1. See appendix 46.

2. Lord Bristol also paid £800 per annum, making a total of £1,600; see D/DBY E 38.

3. Kent, *op.cit.*, 171: G.E. Mingay, "Agricultural trends in the Eighteenth Century, with special reference to the estates of the Duke of Kingston", (Ph.D. Nottingham 1958), 268-273.

estates than in purchasing new ones.¹ In any event Griffin showed his concern for such improvements as thatching, ironmongery work, plumbing and glazing; pebble stones for paving the farms; the purchase and carriage of the required building materials; hedging, ditching and so on. More specifically, in the summer of 1754 a new well house was sunk and a new well house erected at Pounce Hall farm; the Home farm and Butlers were paved, and later in that year a new stable was built at Butler farm. In 1756 Westley received attention and tiles and bricks were procured. In 1761 thatching was carried out at St. Aylott's farm and three years later at Monks Hall farm. In 1766 a new cart lodge was erected at Westley and further attention at the Home farm in 1768 made demands upon the painter, glazier and thatcher. In 1776 the sum of £125 10s. was expended in rebuilding those buildings burnt down at Rose farm, of which £78 14s. 4d. was paid as insurance by the Sun Fire Office.² In the same year a new barn was erected at Audley End for which the carpenter was paid £40 2s. 6d. and the bricklayer, Richard Ward, £31 11s. In short, Sir John was following the general pattern of putting the farms and their outbuildings in a state of good repair, and from this evidence it would seem that he was bearing most if not all the cost of repairs. Probably he undertook to inject fixed capital into the estate and his tenants were made responsible for working capital, although in the absence of individual farm books and leases, one cannot be certain about this.³ It might well

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1. For example, this is discussed in Mingay, "Agricultural trends in the Eighteenth Century", 151-153.
 2. See, P.C.M. Dickson, The Sun Life Insurance Office, 1710-1860 (Oxford 1960).
 3. It is difficult to work out the precise figure of fixed capital; see, B.A. Holderness, "Landlord's Capital Formation in East Anglia, 1750-1870", Econ.Hist.Rev. 2nd Series, XXV, No.3, August 1972, 434-447.

be that he followed the practice mentioned by Grigg,¹ in 1794. He stated that the "houses upon the Essex farms are good and conveniently constructed, and the stables, barns, cowhouses, and other buildings, more numerous, than in most other counties. These, after being put into repair by the landlord, at the commencement of the lease, are generally to be kept so at the tenant's expense, at least as far as workmanship goes".

Following upon the improvement of farms and their outbuildings came the improving of estate cottages and the erection of new ones. For instance, in 1775 Jane Morgan² supplied ironmongery goods worth £24 16s.; Philip Martin supplied £19 10s. 6d. worth of lime; bricks and pavements worked by Day and Ward amounted to £17 12s. 6d.; and Thomas Johnson's iron work cost £5 5s. 6d. This activity continued throughout 1775 and 1776 and various items included in the building of new cottages were paving bricks costing £27 2s.; ironmongery £22 14s.; lime £11 0s. 6d.; Johnson for more iron work was paid £3 8s.; Bunten for plumbing and glazing received £20 7s. 6d.; Richard Ward was paid £100 12s. 6d. for bricklaying and Jackson £180 1s. for carpentry. Another batch of payments was made later in 1776 when the carpenter received £107 15s. 6d.; the bricklayer another £84 17s.; Martin was paid £20 15s. for lime and Jane Morgan a further £23 16s. for ironmongery. Seven new cottages were erected in place of old ones pulled down. One of the tenants, William Baines, was allowed his cottage at a reduced rent and another, a female, was allowed "to Live Gratis for Life as pr. Agreement". These cottages were the ones that were re-sited in the hamlet of Audley End.³

1. Griggs, op.cit., 22.

2. These two tradespeople have been instanced in Part 1, chapter 4.

3. These have been discussed above.

Others, as we have seen, were situated in Duck Street. In July 1777 timber was brought from Kings Lynn via Cambridge for what was referred to as the Duck Street "Building". Again the same local trades people and craftsmen were employed. Taking place particularly between 1777 and 1778, some of the initial work was in the nature of repair to existing properties, as well as new building work. Lime was purchased for £17 10s. 6d.; ironmongery for £15 5s. 6d.; carpenter's work to "Duck Street House" amounted to £37 11s.; the bricklayer was paid £54 18s. 6d. Another item was "Paper covering & carriage to the New Farming Buildings at Duck Street", which amounted to £128 7s. William Robinson¹ was paid three guineas for drawing plans for the new buildings. Other separate payments came to £111 3s. 6d. and at least £319, of which latter sum, the carpenter was paid over £190 and the bricklayer over £75. Unfortunately, the records are not as fulsome in describing the "New Farming Building" and it is difficult to be sure whether purpose built farm buildings were in fact being erected, and if so what their main features were.²

A third area of fixed capital investment was the building of a new water mill and house at Littlebury. This project took place alongside the Duck Street operation. In April 1777 Thomas Yeoman was paid thirteen

1. He was a local man and was employed as a joiner-surveyor; see D/DBY A35/9/1777.

2. See S.W.Mus. Rate Assessment 1789 Draw 14; these buildings were assessed as a farm. The 'Duck Street' Farm is now the 'Home' Farm on the Audley End Estate. I wish to thank the Hon.R.H.C. Neville for permission to 'trespass' upon his estate, and Mr.J.R. Hatton, the estate steward, for information concerning the present estate. See also, N.Harvey, A History of Farm Buildings in England and Wales (Newton Abbot 1970): "One of the constant themes of the new literature in this period was the planning and construction of farm buildings", 71.

guineas for surveying and assisting in planning, and John Glyn¹ contracted to build the mill for £630 and the house for £366 15s. Here, as in some other spheres, Griffin was acting upon Kent's² advice, namely that all such work should be "by the jobb, for a fixed sum: always subject however to inspection and approbation when finished". Glyn was paid in instalments and among the main materials used were French stones; flood gates,³ purchased in London in 1768 were repaired and re-used. A brew-house, new stables and a barn were also erected, and once again the same local craftsmen, including Richard Ward, were employed. During the actual building work, the miller, James John, and his family, were made an allowance "for the time being kept out". Having laid out some of his capital in this manner it was to be expected that Sir John would be seeking a return on his investment. What he had caused to be done was to pull down the old mills at Littlebury and Audley End and in their place erect a new one in Littlebury. That he had been able to do this was due to his obtaining property in Littlebury and the rent charged for the new mill was considerably more than what had been charged for the old Audley End mill. The level rose from £126 when completed to £130 10s. in 1784 where it remained until 1791.

Thus the sharp rise in the level of disbursements for the years 1775 to 1777 is explained by these three projects. New cottages, new farm buildings and a new water mill-house and out buildings account for the

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1. He is mentioned in Part 1, chapter 4 as one of the regional tradesmen to benefit from Griffin's custom.
 2. Kent, op.cit., 180.
 3. The erection of the flood gates had necessitated the labourers standing in water and pumping day and night.

largest items of fixed capital investment. Most of the remaining disbursements were taken up with further general repairs to estate buildings and to generally tidying up the physical side of his properties, as was the case for instance after exceptionally high winds in May 1779. Commensurate with this policy he increased his level of insurance, partly prompted, no doubt, by the experience at Rose farm. In 1778, after his major outlay of fixed capital, a new policy was taken out and between that time and 1791 his premium almost doubled, rising from £12 13s. 6d. to £22 15s. But from 1778 the level of disbursements dropped considerably and during the remaining years the excess cash was paid to Griffin and was not ploughed back into the estate in the same form of fixed capital investment.

Between 1754 and 1791 estate disbursements amounted to £38,931 4s. 0¹/₄d. giving a projected total of £41,716. This figure does not however represent the level of his capital investment in the estate. Most of this sum was taken up by expenses of one kind or another. The Dowager Countess of Suffolk's jointure between 1754 and 1776 at £800 per year came to £17,600, and the payment of annuities to his brother and sisters from 1770 until 1791 was responsible for a further £3,450. Salaries for estate personnel accounted for about £2,900. Thus a jointure, annuities and salaries amounted to £23,950 of the £41,716. This left about £17,766 and most of this went on such regular items of expenditure as land tax, poor rates, parish rates, audit expenses, manor court expenses, treating the tenants, insurance premiums, payments to sundry tradesmen and so on. Thus Griffin's fixed capital investment in the estate was confined to the three major projects discussed above and to general repair work, which did not amount to more than a few thousand pounds over the period.¹

1. This is based on my analysis of D/DBy A293-296.

However, Sir John's major contribution was in extending the overall size and improving the quality of his estate. In 1754 his estate consisted of some 3,257 acres mostly in the parish of Walden. By the end of his stewardship¹ a further 2,622 acres, in the parishes of Walden, Littlebury, Wendens and Ashdon, and in the counties of Norfolk, Suffolk and Northamptonshire, had been added. The cost of this impressive policy of growth and improvement was an equally impressive sum of £54,384. Of this figure £24,831 was expended for properties in Walden; £12,742 for lands in Littlebury; about £1,535 for lands in Ashdon; £275 for parcels in Wendens. As far as out-county estates were concerned £10,000 was spent on the Northamptonshire property and £5,000 for the Suffolk property. No figures are available for the cost of the Norfolk estate, thus the 2,622 acres and £54,384 must represent minimum levels of land gains and investment.² However, of the total estate debit of £96,100, his total capital investment cannot have been less than £54,384 for land purchase, plus a few thousand pounds for fixed capital investment in the three main projects and general repair work on the Audley End estate. Most of this investment seems to have been financed out of his estate income, which for the period 1754 to 1797 was £108,100, to which can be added Home farm profits amounting to £9,237.³

But impressive though this record is, as in so many other aspects of his life, Sir John did more than invest cash. He also invested his own time, thought and energy. In the short term he was an efficient landowner by creating an effective and successful administrative system, in

1. For part of the effect of his policy see illustration 16.

2. See appendix 40.

3. D/DBY A262-264.

keeping estate expenses down, in keeping rent arrears to a minimum and as far as one can tell in preventing embezzlement, all of which are acceptable criteria in measuring the efficiency of a landowner.¹ In the long term his land procuring policy had beneficial results even if at times he paid above the current market price for the parcels of land.² Although not belonging to the "improving"³ landlord in the fullest sense, it is clear that the estate was seen as a unit of management rather than a mere unit of consumption, and from this businesslike approach it was seen as something more than a mere unit of ownership. Perhaps the most fitting testimony to his own sustained participation in the management of the estate is to mention that his own estate map on which were plotted the changes that he was effecting was hung in his dressing room at Audley End.⁴ In keeping

1. Pollard, op.cit., 25-30.
2. Griffin's policy seems to have been in keeping with that of the group to which he belonged. "If they had cash reserves or available credit they were likely to invest in land, which was the very symbol of their permanence," see Kelch, Newcastle, 2. Professor Mingay has written that although land was not "the only important type of property.., it was supreme: more tangible than the Funds, more stable than merchants' stock-in-trade, and more certainly valuable than industrialists' machines and implements. Considered as an investment land may well have been less profitable than any of these, but in compensation income from land tended to confer a higher social status on its owner than an equivalent income from any other source but that of high government office". Mingay, Landed Society, 3.
3. For instance such criteria as raising rents from a given acreage and the raising of output per acre do not seem to have been prominent features of estate administration under Griffin.
4. D/DBY E 213: "In the Mapp fix'd up in Lord Howard's Dressing Room at Audleyend The Demesne Lands and all others came to him the Lord of the Several Manors of Walden either by Purchase or Exchange, Each Piece is Stained or Colour'd all over Green".

a watchful eye on estate business, perhaps the soldier in him saw his efforts of winning more properties for the well-being of the estate as a series of campaigns.¹

1. They seem to have been "bloodless" in so far as there is no evidence to suggest that Griffin rode rough shod over the interests of some of his less well off neighbours. The only instance of strained relationships between Griffin and his neighbours seems to have been over the Cam navigation, see Part 1, chapter 4.

PART V : DEDICATED STEWARDSHIP

In this thesis an attempt has been made to find out what one nobleman was like "in the round". Sir John emerges as a person¹ endowed with a good deal of commonsense rather than one exhibiting any pretensions to cleverness. Of an independent disposition he possessed sound business acumen and no little financial and administrative ability. Beloved of his immediate family, esteemed by his friends, and generally respected by his acquaintances for his plain speaking and integrity, he had the reputation of being an agreeable man,² and he appears as a friendly but firm figure. He was meticulous in disposition and regular in his habits; indeed he always remained very much the soldier - a man of action rather than words, and his portrait in general's uniform with map in hand perhaps typifies him. His interests were general rather than specialised, but he was, in many ways, an admirable figure, who could, and did, act with great strength and character.

As far as his personal achievements were concerned, he rose from a professional-landed background to the ranks of the English peerage. In his professional career he showed personal bravery and attained the top rung of the military ladder. In Parliament his voice was heard with respect. He held a number of local offices and his influence, in so many ways favourable, was felt in his particular part of the country. When he

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1. This profile is, of course, subjective: it also suffers as it is based on our knowledge of Griffin after 1749, that is, from the age of thirty onwards.
 2. Count Frederick Kielmansegge, Diary of a Journey to England 1761-1762 (1902), translated by Phillipa Kielmansegge. My view that he was agreeable also rests on my overall impression of him.
 3. See illustration 1.

considered that his interests were threatened, he showed a determination to safeguard them. Enjoying the privileges that his status bestowed, he was not unmindful of the accompanying responsibilities. In many ways he is a representative figure of the landed group as seen by some modern scholars.¹ At micro level, it might be said of him, along with other noblemen of that time, that he "performed several of the functions which in the national economy of the twentieth century are performed by more than one government department".² The conduct of his personal life and his many successes in pursuing a varied career made him a worthy representative of his family, in which he showed so much pride.

Indeed, he was very conscious of the debt he owed his forebears and once his ambitions were fired he displayed an unflagging tenacity in his efforts to achieve his goal. His achievements were in keeping with other members of the ruling group, which success has been attributed to an undeviating urge to satisfy their ambitions which sprang from a belief in the rightness of what they did. Griffin showed that he had the single-minded energy and his overall success was in no small part due to his governing passion to succeed at all costs. Certainly, he was not found wanting in ambition, energy, determination or perseverance, and he revealed himself to be astute and diligent, resourceful and prudent. The house that we see today, a compromise between the architectural world of James I and the architectural world of George III, is very much his brainchild. It was he who rescued, restored and embellished, and saw that it was set in fitting surroundings. In rebuilding the economic life

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1. For example the published researches of Professor Habakkuk, Mingay, Spring and Thompson: for details see Bibliography.
 2. A.S. Turberville, A History of Welbeck Abbey and its Owners (1939), v. 1, 1775-1879, 53.

of the household, he inaugurated a system that was to continue after his own day and serve his successors. As an active landlord, he not only enlarged but also improved and modernised the estate, and provided his successors with a firm basis from which to continue and extend his policy. It is no less true to state that as with the house, so too, with the visible part of the estate, the imprint of his stewardship is very much in evidence.

That some of his contemporaries saw his achievements as such is evidenced by a number of reports to survive.¹ But it was in death that "the dignity and rank of the great were accorded respect in the elaborate and stylised ritual of impressive public ceremonies".² The impact that such occasions had on the minds of some of the eyewitnesses might be long enduring:

Lord Howard - we well remember his funeral-...To a boy of that period, the day was a red letter day - it was a holiday, - a gay day; all the world seemed to be there: the hearse dressed out with escutcheons - the tenantry prancing about, albeit unused to such splendid ceremonies - and a long, very long procession, was all highly calculated to impress the minds of those who stood like us to gaze.³

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1. These have been used in the preceding parts.
 2. Thompson, Landed Society, 79.
 3. Player, Sketches of Walden, 27: this was published in 1845. The event was also recorded by the vicar of Saffron Walden and Griffin's personal chaplain, William Gretton, who made the following entry in the parish register on 2 June 1797: "...The procession from the house began at eleven o'clock and the concourse of people was of all ranks who were assembled at this awful solemnity to offer the last mark of esteem for that truly respectable nobleman was very great. The funeral service was read by the Revd.Wm.Hamilton, Archdeacon of Colchester, and accompanied by the heartfelt sorrow of multitudes who have lost a most valuable protector and friend. To detail his several and numerous perfections would indeed be an arduous attempt. Suffice it to say of him that if unfeigned piety, if humanity, beneficence, charity, philanthropy, be virtues estimable in heaven, laudable on earth, all these he practised in a superior manner. For these he will be rewarded above and long, very long, be recorded in the memory of every grateful survivor". S.W.Parish Church Register of Baptisms and Burials, 1794-1814. This tribute or eulogy was also published in the Gentleman's Magazine, LXVII, 1797, 529-30. The funeral expenses including mourning and probate of the will amounted to at least £966 15s.: see D/DBy A371.

The quality of Sir John's work left also an impact on the mind of the 3rd Lord Braybrooke.¹ Referring to the dilapidated condition of the house in the middle of the eighteenth century, and the partition of the estate "which materially interfered with his plans, and might almost have been considered as insuperable", the 3rd Lord went on to say that "...the place had devolved upon a person not easily to be deterred from accomplishing any project which he had once conceived, his energies appearing to rise with the occasion that called them forth". This comment was made less than forty years after Griffin's death, and was made by a person who could speak with intimate knowledge of his predecessor's achievements. The passage of time has only served to confirm this statement and it is hoped that this investigation has documented its accuracy.

But any attempt to assess the real significance of Griffin's work - the long term effects - must be seen in conjunction with what had gone before and what was to come after his day. His principal achievement was the link he forged between the old and the new, between the past and the future: he was the last of the Howards and the first of the Braybrookes. To such a man, the house, estate and good name of the family were part of the trust handed on from one generation to the next, to be guarded and promoted, and then handed down to the next generation. It was not so much ownership as custodianship, and his contribution serves to portray him as a dedicated steward.² It is to be hoped that this

1. Braybrooke, Audley End, 131: this was published in 1836.

2. This is not intended to ignore the important contributions made by such key figures as Charles Higgins, Thomas Pennystone, Martin Nockold, Richard Ward and others: but it was Griffin who directed and fused their efforts into a coherent and comprehensive programme.

study, in finding out what one nobleman was like "in the round", has also demonstrated the importance and responsibility of personal character for changes in family fortune.

PART VI : APPENDICES.

APPENDIX 1 : GRIFFIN'S VOTING RECORD IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS 1761-1784^{*}.

1761-1768

- a) His name appears on Fox's list on peace preliminaries, Dec. 1762.
- b) Voted with Opposition over General Warrants, 15 Feb. 1764.
- c) Voted with Opposition over General Warrants, 18 Feb. 1764.
- d) His name appears on Newcastle's list of "sure friends" 10th May 1764.
- e) He was 'pro' on Rockingham's list, July-Aug. 1765.
- f) His name appears on Rockingham's list Dec. 1766-Feb. 1767 -
for Chatham.
- g) For the Government on Townshend's list, Jan. 1767.
- h) For Administration Land Tax Feb. 27, 1767.
- i) For the Administration on Newcastle's list, 2nd March 1767.

^{*} Based on The History of Parliament transcripts.

1768-1774

- a) Voted with Opposition Wilke's Libel, 2nd Feb. 1769.
- b) With Opposition expulsion of Wilkes, 3rd Feb. 1769.
- c) With Opposition Address, 9th Jan. 1770.
- d) With Opposition Middlesex Election, 25th January 1770.
- e) With Opposition Spanish Convention, 13th Feb. 1771.
- f) 'Con Present Robinson' First State on the Royal Marriage Bill March 1772.
- g) With Opposition Middlesex Election 26th April 1773.
- h) With Opposition Grenville's Act 25th Feb. 1774.
- i) 'Con' Robinson 'State' Sept. 1774.

1774-1780

- a) With Opposition on Wilkes 22nd Feb. 1775.
- b) With Opposition on Civil List Debts 18 April 1777.
- c) With Opposition on America 2nd Feb. 1778.
- d) 'Con Present' Contractors Bill 12th Feb. 1779.
- e) With Opposition - Keppel, 3rd March 1779.
- f) With Opposition For An Account of Pensions, 21st Feb. 1780.
- g) With Opposition Economical Reform 8th March 1780.
- h) With Opposition Abolition Board of Trade 13th March 1780.
- i) With Opposition Dunning's Motion 6th April 1780.
- j) With Opposition Motion Against Prorogation 24th April 1780.
- k) 'Con' Robinson 'State' - Gen. Election 1780.

1780-1784

- a) With Opposition Lowther's Motion Against the War, 12 Dec. 1781
- b) With Opposition Censure Motion Against Administration 20 Feb. 1782
- c) With Opposition Conway's Motion Against the War, 22 Feb. 1782
- d) With Opposition Conway's Motion Against the War, 27 Feb. 1782
- e) With Opposition John Davendish's Censure Motion, 8 March 1782
- f) With Opposition Rous's No Confidence Motion 15 March 1782
- g) With Administration Shelburne's Peace Preliminaries 18 Feb. 1783
- h) On Robinson's List for Shelburne March 1783
- i) Probably with Opposition - Fox's East India Bill 27 Nov. 1783
- j) 'Doubtful' Robinson's List Jan. 1784
- k) Administration - Stockdale List 19 March 1784
- l) Administration - William Adam's List May 1784

APPENDIX 2: EXAMPLES OF GRIFFIN'S POLITICAL SPEECHES.

(a) "It was moved, to commit the American fishery bill. Sir John Griffin Griffin, after expressing his sincere wishes to see an happy conclusion put to the American disputes without bloodshed, declared, that upon reading the bill, he felt himself alarmed, and was jealous that, if the greatest caution and delicacy was not to be used in perfecting the bill, it would rather provoke than effect any good purpose; and that he would not therefore, without certain assurances, give his consent to its going to the committee. He contended, that the first operation of the bill should be so calculated, that the innocent might on no event be confounded with the guilty, and observed, that the power given to the government and Council of New Hampshire and Massachussets Bay, to take off the restriction laid by this bill by proclamation, appeared to be so limited, that they could not issue such proclamation so as to secure those who were evidently well intentioned from the penalties of the Act; and then put a case, by way of explanation, and insisted, that in common justice the commencement of its operation should be delayed to such a period, as ought to give those so inclined time to return to their duty; and concluded, that if this was not to be the case, he should be adverse to its going one step further; and that on the contrary, if he heard from authority, that none but the unrelenting and intractable could feel its influence, he should wish the bill success, considering it as very proper and consistent with every resolution taken on the subject of our unhappy disputes with America".¹

1. J. Almon, The Parliamentary Register 1, 1774-1775 (MDCCLXXV), 233 (24 Feb. 1775).

(b) "Sir J.G. Griffin, said, he did not get up to oppose the number of seamen,¹ because he thought if any operation were to be continued against the Americans, they ought to be confined to that service only. He then declared that he had hitherto supported government on principles, without regard to men; thinking it his duty as an honest man so to do, as long as the true interest of the country appeared to be consulted, and the public affairs conducted to the credit or honour of the nation; denied that to be the case at present, and called on any of the ministers best friends to contradict him; adding, he should ill deserve to sit there any longer, if he continued to afford his support to men, the effects of whose mistaken and pernicious measures had reduced us to so shameful and dishonourable a situation. Professed himself an advocate for the supreme legislative authority of this country over its colonies; disclaimed however on the one hand vindicating the rash and indiscreet measure of having taxed the Americans, as he did on the other, their mode of resistance. He put the House in mind, that the noble Lord (Lord North) had in the last session given it as his opinion, that the forces then voted, and the other measures the House had adopted, would put an end to all our unhappy disputes with America, even without a drop of bloodshed; and that notwithstanding we felt so seriously the grievous effects of these ill advised measures; the noble Lord, he said, with fatal experience against him, was determined to seek our total ruin, by persevering in the same wild and extravagant system; instead of which, he added, tender of conciliation on terms suited to the true spirit of the British constitution ought to be preferred and held out to the Americans, which, if found not to prevail, to relinquish all connections with them; or otherwise, if practicable, to harrass

1. The naval estimates debate.

them with your fleets, by interrupting their trade, till at length they might perhaps be brought to sue for protection. Contended, that measures of this nature would save the nation from impending ruin and destruction, which must otherwise be attendant on the system of coercion and conquest; that our finances might thus be kept unimpaired; that we should have no occasion for foreign troops, for the vast exercise of our army establishment, or for the calling forth of the militia to the prejudice of trade and to the cultivation of our lands, and that we should preserve to ourselves what it was to be feared might be too soon wanted, security at home against foreign or domestic insults; and that in the worst event, the loss of America could never be adequate to the blood and treasure of which this country must be exhausted in the endeavours to recover it, and to preserve it, if in the end victorious".¹

1. Almon, op.cit., 111, 1775-1776, 87-88. (1 Nov. 1775).

APPENDIX 3 : MARTIN NOCKOLD'S MONTHLY GARDENING, PLANTATION AND NURSERY *
ACCOUNTS 1766-1797.

Month	1766	1767	1768	1769	1770	1771
January		24 10 11	37 17 7	33 0 2	46 1 0	33 3 10½
February		24 16 10	37 1 6	37 13 1½	43 13 1½	26 11 10
March		27 3 11	46 6 7	46 15 10	49 9 6½	28 13 8½
April		25 7 8½	45 5 2	44 18 10½	44 4 9½	31 6 5½
May	15 7 9	35 0 0	43 7 5	42 11 9½	52 19 10½	43 7 2
June	18 0 11	44 1 2½	42 12 5	51 9 9½	48 5 7	44 17 10
July	15 3 7	50 12 3	40 4 6½	39 14 3½	42 12 8	44 19 1½
August	12 19 1	44 13 11	39 11 5	43 13 5¹	41 11 9	42 9 0
September	12 8 8½	37 0 2	34 18 8	38 12 7	37 1 5½	42 8 10½
October	11 16 11	40 6 6	34 17 3½	37 18 2	37 8 11½	42 18 2
November	15 17 5	39 1 8½	31 0 2	37 12 3	34 5 9	44 7 10
December	19 8 9	37 3 2½	34 0 1	38 2 5	29 4 10	37 1 4½
Totals	121 3 1½	429 18 4	467 2 10	492 2 9	506 19 4	462 5 3

* D/DBy A196-226.

Month	1772	1773	1774	1775	1776	1777
January	43 0 4	66 1 $9\frac{1}{2}$	53 0 6	40 13 5	37 12 10	62 18 3
February	33 19 0	64 15 $9\frac{1}{2}$	47 0 7	34 5 $8\frac{1}{2}$	38 8 0	43 4 10
March	35 2 $4\frac{1}{2}$	71 2 $7\frac{1}{2}$	61 9 $3\frac{1}{2}$	39 19 $9\frac{1}{2}$	36 9 10	46 12 5
April	29 7 6	67 7 1	54 17 $1\frac{1}{2}$	39 11 6	42 5 4	47 3 5
May	32 3 2	53 13 5	65 4 $6\frac{1}{2}$	41 7 6	45 14 $7\frac{1}{2}$	45 3 3
June	35 17 3	53 12 0	51 11 6	39 18 6	40 16 8	36 3 $6\frac{1}{2}$
July	31 8 2	54 17 4	54 6 $11\frac{1}{2}$	46 4 10	40 8 1	42 7 4
August	32 19 3	53 1 8	50 18 11	34 7 1	37 4 10	43 3 2
September	36 15 4	45 14 4	42 19 0	42 18 10	46 6 $4\frac{1}{2}$	53 13 7
October	45 16 $11\frac{1}{2}$	55 16 9	50 19 4	42 0 7	49 5 4	41 19 0
November	42 0 $6\frac{1}{2}$	53 16 2	46 19 $7\frac{1}{2}$	39 0 $1\frac{1}{2}$	45 3 0	42 19 $2\frac{1}{2}$
December	48 9 9	58 16 1	45 5 $4\frac{1}{2}$	34 17 $7\frac{1}{2}$	43 9 11	56 19 8
Totals	446 19 $7\frac{1}{2}$	698 15 $0\frac{1}{2}$	624 12 9	475 5 6	503 4 10	562 7 8

Month	1778	1779	1780	1781	1782	1783
January	53 1 5	47 12 2	49 16 11	49 11 10	50 13 4	48 19 10
February	48 18 4	47 10 5	49 9 9	46 14 4	37 13 3	47 17 8
March	57 8 9	59 17 4	42 9 0	55 11 6	50 11 11	45 2 5
April	57 6 2	50 2 6	46 13 2	48 5 1	40 16 8	56 16 3
May	45 2 10	29 17 4	53 8 $3\frac{1}{2}$	52 1 7	42 10 11	58 4 6
June	52 0 11	44 5 3	46 3 1	47 9 2	39 17 4	53 5 5
July	42 16 7	49 2 $6\frac{1}{2}$	45 8 $8\frac{1}{2}$	43 6 $7\frac{1}{2}$	44 2 10	47 13 4
August	43 14 8	44 5 4	45 3 0	36 16 7	48 3 6	39 11 2
September	58 13 3	58 2 $10\frac{1}{2}$	57 4 6	59 9 $4\frac{1}{2}$	49 11 11	54 4 9
October	42 4 9	39 12 0	37 17 10	38 12 1	47 7 $5\frac{1}{2}$	38 11 8
November	44 2 $6\frac{1}{2}$	38 8 10	41 11 $6\frac{1}{2}$	41 4 3	41 5 0	40 14 $5\frac{1}{2}$
December	47 0 3	52 10 0	45 12 9	35 19 4	41 10 3	42 4 $7\frac{1}{2}$
Totals	595 6 $5\frac{1}{2}$	561 6 7	560 18 $6\frac{1}{2}$	555 1 9	534 4 $4\frac{1}{2}$	573 6 1

Month	1784	1785	1786	1787	1788	1789
January	37 4 9½	38 16 9	37 13 3½	41 13 9½	46 1 11	67 19 10
February	31 13 4	38 3 7	35 3 4½	58 0 8½	50 1 8	45 9 10
March	41 12 7	38 3 7	46 19 4½	66 3 10	42 15 2	44 8 9½
April	40 13 1	41 13 4	44 5 4	69 13 10	45 19 11	51 9 4
May	40 8 11½	41 2 9	46 18 2	76 17 6½	50 3 5	50 12 11
June	49 16 7	43 8 11	43 18 9	68 11 9	45 8 6½	50 11 5
July	45 19 2	42 8 6	44 0 3	40 17 3	49 16 9	51 7 1
August	46 15 9½	44 17 0	45 19 3	42 4 5	40 11 9	50 18 11
September	51 5 4	56 2 1	56 11 6	62 8 3	55 12 7	56 11 0
October	37 16 4	42 3 11	43 18 11½	47 14 4	45 18 5½	40 2 0
November	40 1 4	39 14 7	41 8 7	44 14 10	51 0 11	39 15 6½
December	42 0 6	42 16 8	38 6 6½	43 9 9½	57 2 10	41 2 4
Totals	505 7 9½	509 11 8	525 3 4½	662 10 4	580 13 11	590 9 0

Month	1790	1791	1792	1793	1794	1797 [*]
January	38 16 6	40 13 10½	35 9 2	37 1 0	50 13 1	48 19 7½
February	33 18 7	34 15 8	33 7 9½	33 16 8½	45 15 10	46 18 2
March	38 18 8	40 18 2	37 14 4	44 16 1	49 17 2	52 17 8½
April	39 8 5½	35 15 6	38 19 10	45 2 3	41 12 11	52 7 8
May	47 17 8	41 8 7	45 17 2	46 8 7	52 12 11½	74 13 0½
June	41 9 9	40 5 9	41 14 9½	41 2 10	41 0 11½	
July	39 13 1	40 6 10	44 5 3	43 15 3	46 5 2½	
August	40 15 9½	40 11 4	43 5 8	39 19 8	42 13 11	
September	51 8 1½	55 6 10	53 13 10	53 1 1½	68 1 11	
October	32 14 8½	36 8 0	36 7 3	54 0 8½	47 11 7½	
November	34 13 9	35 9 3	31 0 3½	62 13 0	42 19 10	
December	39 11 3	44 9 9	33 2 7	63 6 6	47 3 0½	
Totals	479 6 4	486 9 6½	474 17 11½	565 3 8½	576 8 5½	275 16 2

* Jacob Nockold presented this account.

ANNUAL TOTALS 1766 - 1797.

1766	121	3	1½
67	429	18	4
68	467	2	10
69	492	2	9
70	506	19	4
71	462	5	3
72	446	19	7½
73	698	15	0½
74	624	12	9
75	475	5	6
76	503	4	10
77	562	7	8
78	595	6	5½
79	561	6	7
80	560	18	6½
81	555	1	9
82	534	4	4
83	573	6	1
84	505	7	9½
85	509	11	8
86	525	3	4½
87	662	10	4
88	580	13	11
89	590	9	0
90	479	6	4
91	486	9	6½
92	474	17	11½
93	565	3	8½
94	576	8	5½
95	-	-	-
96	-	-	-
97	275	16	2 *

Total 1766-97 £15,402 19 0½

* Jacob Nockold presented this account.

APPENDIX 4 : PAYMENTS TO WORKMEN.

(a) Daily rates of some skilled workmen

				s.	d.
P. Columbani, Surveyor and designer	...	...	...	10	6 ¹
R. Jones, Upholsterer	...	...	...	4	0 ²
M. Loadman, Stonemason	...	...	...	3	0 ³
J. F. Moore, Stonemason	...	...	...	3	0 ⁴
W. West, Stonemason	...	...	...	3	0 ⁵
W. Thomas, Slater	...	...	...	3	0 ⁶
J. Rose's men, Plasterers	...	...	...	3	0 ⁷
R. Wheeler, Joiner	...	...	...	2	10 ⁸
S. Harris, Stonemason	...	...	...	2	8 ⁹
J. Welch, Stonemason	...	...	...	2	8 ¹⁰
J. Hooper, Stonemason	...	...	...	2	6 ¹¹
J. Bunten, Plumber and glazier	...	...	...	2	6 ¹²
R. Ward, Bricklayer	2	0 ¹³
T. Whitmore, Upholsterer	2	0 ¹⁴
T. Whitmore, Upholsterer	1	0 ¹⁵

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1. D/DBy A39/12 (1781).
 2. A45/6 (1787).
 3. A259.
 4. A259.
 5. A43/3 (1785).
 6. A259.
 7. A259.
 8. A259.
 9. A43/5 (1785).
 10. A46/6 (1788).
 11. A259.
 12. A44/2 (1786).
 13. A259.
 14. A25/4 (1767).
 15. A23/10 (1765).

(b) Daily rates of some semi-and unskilled workmen

				s..	d.
C. Gunning. Cleaning exterior of house	...	...	...	3	0 ¹
J. Fry, Cleaning exterior of house	...	...	...	2	3 ²
J. Hooper, Mason's labourers	...	...	...	2	0 ³
W. Warren, Ivory's (carpenter) helper	...	...	...	2	0 ⁴
J. Lindsell, Jackson's (carpenter) helper	...	...	...	1	11 ⁵
R. Thomson, Ivory's (carpenter) helper	...	...	...	1	9 ⁶
J. Hicks, Labourers for cleaning river	...	...	...	1	8 ⁷
M. Loadman, Mason's labourers	...	...	...	1	6 ⁸
G. Carter, One of Hick's labourers	...	...	...	1	6 ⁹
J. Britton, Work in the gardens	...	...	...	1	6 ¹⁰
R. Ward, Bricklayer's men	...	...	...	1	4 ¹¹
P. Robertson, For work in the gardens	...	...	...	1	4 ¹²
J. Glover, Cleaning exterior of house	...	...	...	1	4 ¹³
R. Ward, Bricklayer's men	...	...	...	1	2 ¹⁴
E. Litchfield, Work in the gardens	...	...	...	1	2 ¹⁵

-
1. A46/6 (1788).
 2. A46/6 (1788).
 3. A259.
 4. A43/1 (1785).
 5. A36/2 (1778).
 6. A43/1 (1785).
 7. A45/6 (1787).
 8. A259.
 9. A42/1 (1784).
 10. A45/6 (1787).
 11. A249.
 12. A45/6 (1787).
 13. A46/6 (1788).
 14. A249.
 15. A45/6 (1787).

	s.	d.
R. Archer, Mason's labourer	1	2 ¹
T. Glover, Ivory's (carpenter) helper	1	7 ²
T. Glover, Ivory's (carpenter) helper	10	3 ³
J. Lindsell, Ivory's (carpenter) helper	8	4 ⁴
J. Lindsell, Ivory's (carpenter) helper	6	5 ⁵
W. Lindsell (boy). Work in the gardens... ..	8	6 ⁶
A. Rains (girl). Work in the gardens	6	7 ⁷

-
1. A46/6 (1788).
 2. A43/1 (1785).
 3. A43/2 (1785).
 4. A43/1 (1785).
 5. A43/2 (1785).
 6. A45/6 (1787).
 7. A45/6 (1787).

APPENDIX 5 : EXPENDITURE MEMORANDUM 1749-1792 *

1749-53	5,717	19	0
1754	1,047	9	6
1755	1,697	7	5
1756	1,528	18	11
1757	1,511	3	8
1758	2,288	4	0
1759	1,897	14	6
1760	2,575	2	$7\frac{1}{4}$
1761	2,314	0	$6\frac{1}{2}$
1762	5,022	4	0
1763	8,322	17	6
1764	8,788	18	$1\frac{1}{2}$
1765	11,964	15	$1\frac{3}{4}$
1766	11,178	4	$7\frac{3}{4}$
1767	10,126	7	2
1768	11,534	15	$8\frac{1}{4}$
1769	7,178	5	9
1770	10,157	9	4
1771	9,556	9	3
1772	10,171	7	10
1773	8,581	17	$0\frac{3}{4}$
1774	13,597	12	4
1775	8,102	10	$3\frac{3}{4}$
1776	6,972	8	$4\frac{3}{4}$
1777	7,820	1	$0\frac{1}{4}$
1778	8,044	2	2
1779	9,103	7	$1\frac{1}{4}$
1780	7,721	9	$10\frac{1}{2}$
1781	7,997	1	$4\frac{3}{4}$
1782	9,668	14	$11\frac{1}{4}$
1783	9,843	15	10
1784	10,983	7	$11\frac{3}{4}$
1785	17,950	4	$3\frac{3}{4}$
1786	15,830	10	$4\frac{1}{2}$
1787	11,765	9	$8\frac{1}{4}$
1788	12,502	6	$6\frac{1}{2}$
1789	13,174	6	$10\frac{1}{4}$
1790	12,286	14	$10\frac{1}{4}$
1791	11,004	8	$5\frac{1}{4}$
1792	13,817	11	$1\frac{3}{4}$
<hr/>			
	341,347	15	$2\frac{1}{2}$
<hr/>			

* D/DBy P46 - memorandum in Griffin's own hand entitled 'Cash disburs'd from my first commencing Housekeeper in 1749'. I have

corrected Griffin's calculation.

APPENDIX 6 : ANNUAL BANK STATEMENT 1763-1797.^x

YEAR	DEBIT			CREDIT			BALANCE		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
1763	5822	12	5	6183	19	11	361	7	6
1764	5048	19	5	5526	12	6	477	13	1
1765	9727	5	11	9796	17	5	69	11	6
1766	9395	6	0	7558	3	0	162	17	0
1767	4056	16	3	4040	3	10	16	12	5
1768	3429	2	3	3566	4	0	137	1	9
1769	4306	5	4	4465	6	9	159	1	5
1770	5000	14	0	5451	8	10	287	17	5
1771	10846	13	5	11025	9	7	178	16	2
1772	5158	2	8	5506	3	8	347	16	0
1773	5082	18	7	5302	16	0	219	17	5
1774	10066	1	4	10242	19	5	176	18	1
1775	3144	2	6	3236	18	1	92	15	7
1776	3364	10	7	4092	10	9	728	0	2
1777	4434	6	0	4486	13	11	52	7	11
1778	4784	8	8	5423	11	1	639	2	5
1779	2728	5	6	3146	14	3	368	8	9
1780	2935	17	0	3413	10	7	477	13	7
1781	3335	6	0	4727	15	5	1392	9	5
1782	4588	1	3	5679	6	5	1091	5	2
1783	4872	0	4	6494	3	4	1622	3	0
1784	4969	6	5	5932	11	2	963	4	9
1785	16953	19	5	17273	8	8	319	9	3
1786	12958	1	6	1454	17	0	1496	15	6
1787	5663	13	1	7672	13	7	2009	0	6
1788	12991	16	2	13678	10	4	686	14	2
1789	17372	14	1	19266	17	4	194	3	3
1790	15539	0	0	18357	19	3	2818	19	3
1791	5155	7	4	9525	11	8	4370	4	4
1792	8229	3	9	10957	1	5	2727	17	8
1793	7392	14	8	13022	1	7	5629	6	11
1794	9571	6	7	11994	12	2	2423	5	7
1795	10321	17	0	11699	11	7	1377	14	7
1796	5940	16	0	11498	14	9	5557	18	9
1797 +	6989	13	8	8434	3	11	1444	10	3
	250227	10	1	293136	3	2			

^x Drummond Bank Ledgers 1763-1797.

* Unfavourable balance.

+ To May 1797.

APPENDIX 7 : INVESTMENT INTEREST 1765-1797*

	£	s	d
1765	280	10	0
1766	457	0	0
1767	470	15	0
1768	467	0	0
1769	228	5	0
1770	530	15	0
1771	366	12	5
1772	291	5	0
1773	251	5	0
1774	144	12	6
1775	40	0	0
1776	56	5	11
1777	57	11	10
1778	57	11	10
1779	57	11	10
1780	57	11	10
1781	50	1	10
1782	47	11	10
1783	101	11	10
1784	30	0	0
1785	30	0	0
1786	270	0	0
1787	210	0	0
1788	180	0	0
1789	592	7	2
1790	622	7	2
1791	420	0	0
1792	420	0	0
1793	420	0	0
1794	420	0	0
1795	480	0	0
1796	540	0	0
1797 +	210	0	0
<hr/>			
	8,858	13	0
<hr/>			

* Drummond Bank Ledgers 1765-1797.

+ To May 1797.

APPENDIX 8 : PAYMENTS BY KERRISON 1783-1797^{*}

		£	s	d
1783	December	529	1	4
1784	June	596	12	8
1785	July	450	0	0
1786	July	450	0	0
1787	July	486	12	1
1788	January	360	0	0
"	July	486	12	8
1789	January	360	0	0
"	July	487	4	6
1790	January	250	0	0
"	July	486	12	8
1791	January	350	0	0
"	July	486	12	8
1793	January	400	0	0
"	July	476	16	8
1794	January	400	0	0
"	February	141	16	10
1795	January	500	0	0
1796	January	450	0	0
"	February	39	13	0
"	July	644	5	8
1797	March	83	7	11
		<hr/>		
		8,915	8	8
		<hr/>		

^{*} Drummonds Bank Ledgers 1783-1797.

APPENDIX 9 : ARMY INCOME 1763-1797*CALCROFT:

	£	s	d
1763	1,493	11	8
1764	1,201	5	0
	<hr/>		
	2,694	16	8

^x
COX:

1765	500	0	0
1776	1,181	19	7
1777	701	1	11
1778	691	10	0
1781	1,000	0	0
1782	1,507	15	2
1783	200	0	0
1784	425	2	3
1785	2,970	3	11
1786	1,900	0	0
1787	1,438	19	0
1788	1,371	6	11
1789	785	2	6
1790	867	9	8
1791	710	14	3
1792	874	19	9
1793	388	12	0
1794	1,638	14	1
1795	856	16	6
1796	2,462	1	6
1797	448	13	6
	<hr/>		
	22,921	2	6

Total 1763 - 1797	£25,615	19	2
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* Drummonds Bank Ledgers 1763-1797.

^x Cox and partners, e.g. Greenwood.

APPENDIX 10 : INCOME FROM LIGHTHOUSES 1763-1797.*

		£
(a) Charles Ambrose	1763	2,760
	1764	3,420
	1765	4,410
	1766	4,250
	1767	3,000
	1768	3,700
	1769	4,100
	1770	3,300
	1771	3,600
	1772	3,600
	1773	3,700
	1774	3,300
	1775	3,000
	1776	500
(b) John D'Oyly	1776	1,350
	1777	3,000
	1778	3,519
	1779	2,400
	1780	2,950
	1781	2,800
	1782	2,700
	1783	2,700
	1784	3,100
	1785	3,000
	1786	3,300
	1787	2,400
	1788	3,300
	1789	2,400
	1790	2,700
	1791	3,100
	1792	3,000
	1793	2,700
	1794	2,100
	1795	3,100
	1796	2,400
	1797	1,500
		<hr/>
		106,159
		<hr/>

* Drummonds Bank Ledgers 1763-1797.

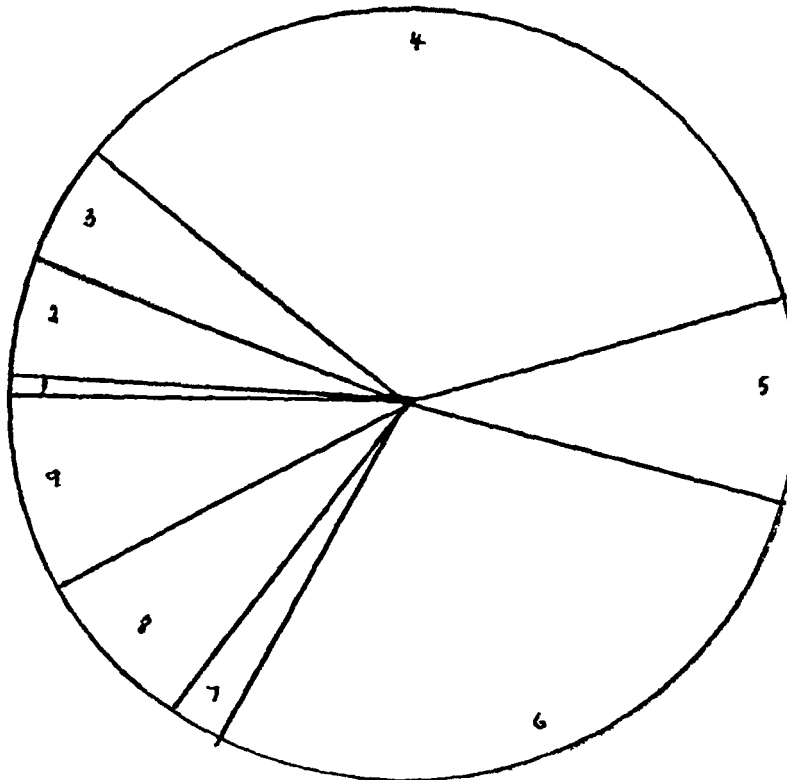
APPENDIX 11 : FINANCIAL BSTRACT 1749-1797.

CREDIT				DEBIT			
	£	s	d		£	s	d
Lady Portsmouth's bank book 1749-1753 ₁	2,345	16	0	Audley End House and furniture 1763-1797 ₁₃	86,214	0	0
Lady Portsmouth's will 1762 ₂	12,000	0	0	London House and furniture 1763-1797 ₁₄	10,412	0	0
Mathew Whitwell's will 1789 ₃	6,000	0	0	Household 1765-1797 ₁₅	105,677	0	0
First marriage 1749 ₄	8,000	0	0	Estates 1754-1797 ₁₆	96,100	0	0
Second marriage 1765 ₅	10,000	0	0	Home Farm 1772-1797 ₁₇	21,627	0	0
Audley End Estate 1754-1797 ₆	108,100	0	0		320,030	0	0
Home Farm 1772-1797 ₇	30,864	11	9 ¹ / ₄	Miscellaneous 1749-1797 ₁₈	61,534	0	0
Out County estates 1783-1797 ₈	17,311	0	0				
Lighthouses 1763-1797 ₉	106,159	0	0				
Investment interest 1765-1797 ₁₀	8,858	13	0	Total 1749-1797	381,564	0	0
Army 1765-1797 ₁₁	25,615	19	2				
Miscellaneous ₁₂	28,879	18	9				
Total 1749-1797	364,134	18	8 ¹ / ₄				

1. D/DBy A369
2. D/DBy T11/1.
3. Ibid.
4. D/DBy T10/1.
5. D/DBy T10/11.
6. D/DBy A293-296.
7. D/DBy A262-264.
8. Kerrison's payments in Bank Ledgers 1783-1797; D/DBy T26; Hervey, (ed.) The Journals of the Hon. William Hervey...1755-1814, 360; Bank Ledgers 1763-1797.
9. Bank Ledgers 1763-1797.
10. Ibid. 11. Ibid. 12. Ibid.
13. D/DBy A196-226; A258.
14. D/DBy A196-226.
15. Ibid.
16. D/DBy A293-296.
17. D/ By A262-264.
18. D/DBy F46; Bank Ledgers 1763-97.

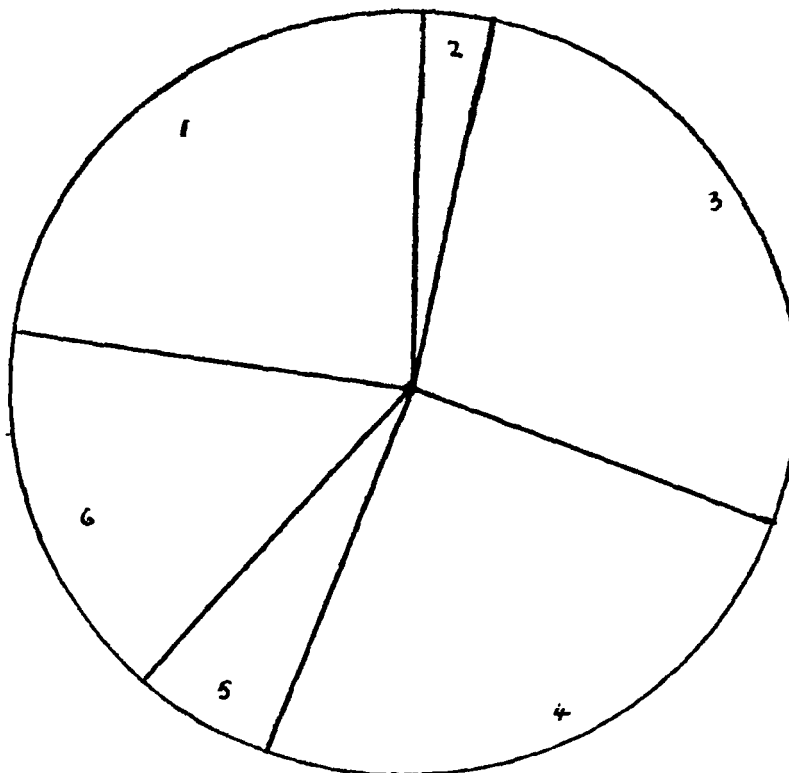
APPENDIX 12 :

APPENDIX 12: CREDIT AND DEBIT AREAS 1749-1797.



(a) CREDIT.

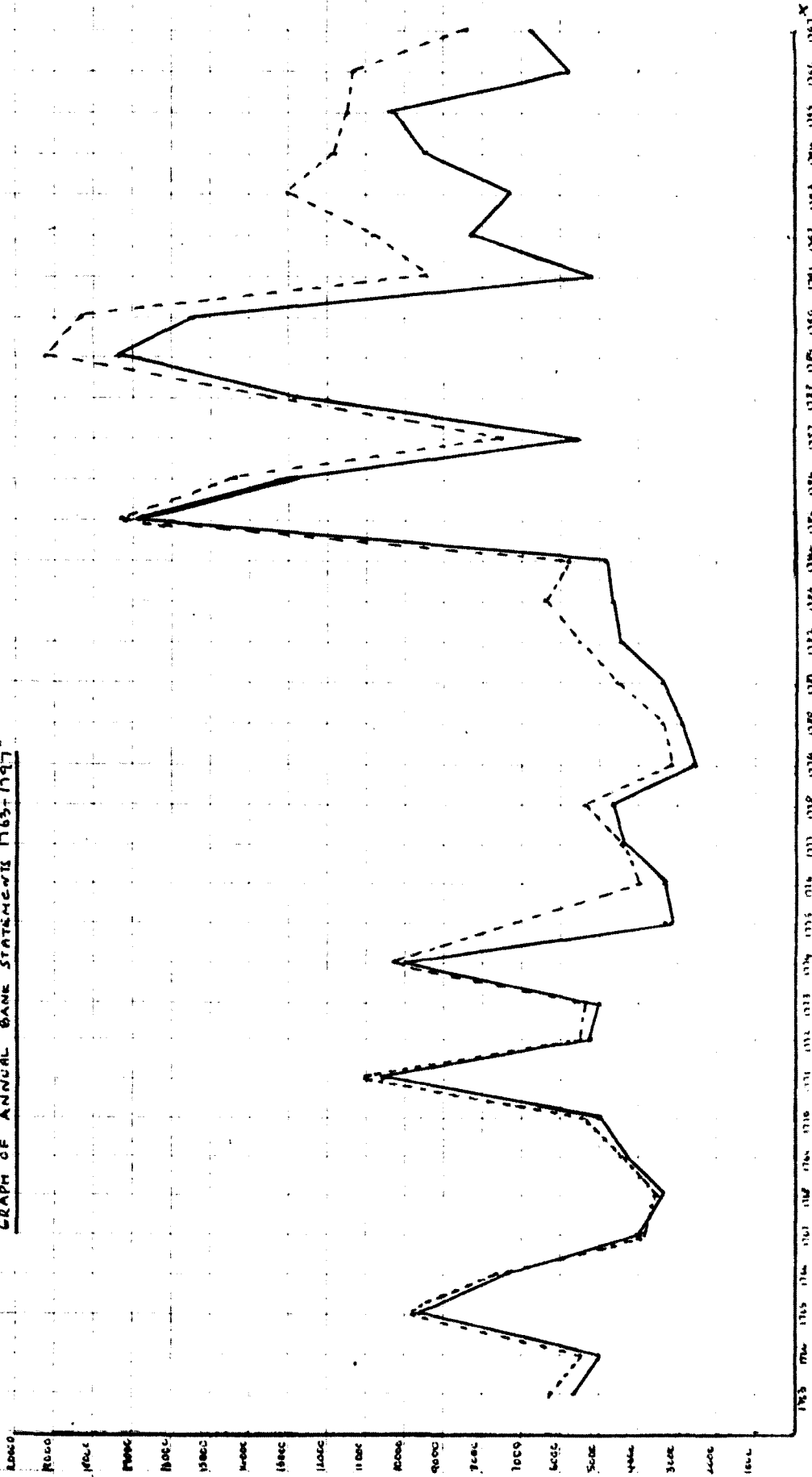
1. Payments by Lady Portsmouth 1749-175
2. Inheritances
3. Marriages
4. Estates
5. Home Farm.
6. Lighthouses
7. Investments.
8. Army.
9. Miscellaneous



(b) DEBIT.

1. Building End house and furniture
2. London house and furniture
3. Households
4. Estates
5. Home Farm.
6. Miscellaneous.

GRAPH OF ANNUAL BAKE STATEMENTS 1763-1797



Debit + Debitments 1763-1797. X to May 1797.

APPENDIX 13 : AUDLEY END HOUSE, GARDENS, TAXES, REPAIRS, 1763-1797.

YEAR	£	s	d	YEAR	£
1765	118	15	3½	1763	1,568
1766	313	17	7½	1764	2,868
1767	780	17	9¾	1765	2,860
1768	737	2	9½	1766	1,500
1769	1,293	10	9	1767	982
1770	1,629	6	8		
1771	2,204	9	2		9,778 ²
1772	1,748	9	1¾		
1773	1,779	0	4¼		
1774	2,982	14	8½		
1775	2,222	17	2		
1776	1,683	5	6¼		
1777	1,894	10	7		
1778	2,132	7	9¾		59,098
1779	1,757	5	11		9,778
1780	1,867	14	0½		
1781	2,510	3	9	Total	68,876
1782	2,038	0	8		
1783	1,997	5	2½		
1784	2,065	18	4½		
1785	4,642	4	7¾		
1786	3,198	11	7½		
1787	2,212	12	2½		
1788	2,077	5	0		
1789	1,862	12	10¾		
1790	2,335	16	0¾		
1791	2,359	0	3		
1792	2,213	10	10½		
1793	2,305	9	3		
1794	1,623	11	8¼		
1795	-	-	-		
1796	-	-	-		
1797	510	7	2½		
	59,098	15	0¾ ¹		

1. D/DBy A196-226.

2. D/DBy A258. Building accounts not included 1765-67.

APPENDIX 14 : AUDLEY END FURNITURE, PLATE, CHINA, STONEWARE 1765-1797.*

YEAR	£	s	d
1765	-	-	-
1766	483	4	10½
1767	414	13	10
1768	153	8	11
1769	204	14	4
1770	455	0	10
1771	952	16	3½
1772	1,579	14	2½
1773	656	12	3
1774	266	1	7½
1775	256	16	2¾
1776	146	13	5¾
1777	1,894	10	7
1778	175	0	3½
1779	93	1	9½
1780	174	16	4
1781	113	8	4¼
1782	153	7	5
1783	74	0	5½
1784	57	17	8½
1785	339	13	4
1786	1,375	9	4
1787	1,201	16	3
1788	385	15	3
1789	220	6	0
1790	123	5	11
1791	161	17	7½
1792	90	3	4½
1793	82	1	9¾
1794	213	5	10
1795	-	-	-
1796	-	-	-
1797	72	10	7½
	12,572	5	2

* D/DBy A197-226.

APPENDIX 15 : LONDON HOUSE AND STABLES 1765-1797.^{*}

YEAR	£	s	d
1765	157	10	8½
1766	214	18	1½
1767	122	15	5½
1768	150	10	4
1769	260	18	8
1770	126	15	8
1771	592	19	11
1772	140	19	3
1773	137	12	11
1774	120	11	7
1775	140	17	7
1776	132	2	5
1777	139	13	8
1778	161	0	10
1779	1,743	14	9
1780	256	6	3
1781	174	19	9
1782	176	19	3
1783	166	15	3
1784	226	3	9
1785	238	5	11
1786	191	11	0
1787	234	10	5
1788	188	8	7
1789	232	1	4
1790	190	7	1
1791	183	0	11¾
1792	213	6	10
1793	192	0	11
1794	305	7	3
1795	-	-	-
1796	-	-	-
1797	144	4	7
	7,657	11	0¼

^{*} D/DA 196-226.

APPENDIX 16 : LONDON HOUSE FURNITURE 1769-1794.*

YEAR	£	s	d
1765	-	-	-
1766	-	-	-
1767	-	-	-
1768	-	-	-
1769	79	6	4
1770	55	5	2
1771	8	12	1
1772	16	17	9
1773	15	17	10
1774	5	15	7
1775	5	18	10
1776	11	8	10
1777	36	1	0½
1778	11	7	6
1779	425	10	6
1780	34	8	3½
1781	216	8	1½
1782	38	3	0
1783	392	18	1½
1784	114	18	8
1785	31	17	7½
1786	17	11	5
1787	28	13	10
1788	40	2	1½
1789	163	19	11½
1790	24	2	9
1791	219	16	11½
1792	55	5	6
1793	25	14	6
1794	19	5	6
1795	-	-	-
1796	-	-	-
1797	-	-	-
	2,095	7	10

* D/DBy A200-227.

APPENDIX 17 : COMPARATIVE HOUSEHOLD DEPARTMENTS AND SECTIONS.*

AUDLEY END ¹	THORESBY ²	WENTWORTH WOODHOUSE ³	MILTON ⁴	PETRE ⁵
Housekeeping Soap and washing Candles and oil Coal, charcoal and wood Stores Contingencies Christmas boxes Health Servants' Wages Liveries Apparel Wine Beer Stables Game Travel House Furniture London House London fur- niture Books, newspa- pers and Stationery	House Taxes and parish dues Old gardens New nursery and planting Park and plan- tations Lake and vessels Menagerie Stables Gamekeeper Husbandry New gardens Bricks Carriage of timbers	Cash paid sun- dry labourers Joiners Bricklayers Carpenters Blacksmiths Gardens Tankersley Street Farm Stables Incidents Charities Corn Carriage & Freight Housekeeping Furniture Hardware Brickmakers Farming Expenses Pheasants Sundry pay- ments Salaries Fishing Levelling Assessments Repairs Liveries Cellars Hay and Straw Carriage Roads Hounds Cattle	Provisions Furniture Brewing Wine Coal Servants' wages Board wages Liveries Charwoman Surgeons Servants' funerals Small articles	Cellar Kitchen Housekeeper Laundry Stables Fuel Fruit Drugs Doctors' fees Servants' wages Servants' cloth Casual charges Farm House rent and repairs Letters and carriage

* Apart from Audley End, these are not comprehensive lists.

1. E.R.O. D/DBY A196-226 (1765-1797).
2. Notts. Univ. Dept. Mss. Manvers Ms M44/19 (1760).
3. Sheff.Cent.Lib. W.W.Mss.A2 (1765-1766).
4. Northants R.O. Fitzwilliam Mss. vol.780 (1775).
5. E.R.O. D/DP A166 Petre Mss. (1745).

APPENDIX 18 : SERVANTS' WAGES 1765-1797.*

YEAR	£	s	d
1765	381	15	1
1766	300	7	7
1767	357	14	3
1768	340	11	9
1769	381	12	3
1770	430	3	0
1771	437	5	6
1772	484	9	10½
1773	511	19	11
1774	534	11	5
1775	540	10	0½
1776	546	10	6
1777	536	4	0
1778	583	4	3
1779	557	18	9
1780	542	6	8
1781	556	6	2
1782	565	3	8
1783	560	16	4
1784	578	15	1
1785	595	4	1
1786	602	1	10
1787	605	4	7
1788	601	17	3
1789	614	6	11
1790	611	0	0
1791	616	17	8
1792	636	10	11½
1793	628	5	4½
1794	645	14	5½
1795	-	-	-
1796	-	-	-
1797	14	9	2
	16,006	18	4½

* D/DBy A196-226.

APPENDIX 19 : SERVANTS' POSITIONS AND ANNUAL WAGES, 1766, 1784 and 1791.

POSITION	1766 ¹			1784 ²			1791 ³		
	£	s	d	£	s	d	£	s	d
1. Housekeeper	20	0	0	30	0	0	25	0	0
2. Lady's woman	12	0	0	12	0	0	12	0	0
3. Housemaid	9	0	0	9	0	0	9	9	0
4. Housemaid	7	0	0	9	0	0	9	9	0
5. Housemaid	10	0	0	8	0	0	8	8	0
6. Housemaid	-			-			7	0	0
7. Stillroom maid	5	0	0	8	0	0	7	0	0
8. Kitchen maid	6	0	0	4	14	0	10	0	0
9. 1st Laundry maid	-			9	0	0	10	10	0
10. 2nd Laundry maid	-			7	0	0	9	9	0
11. Dairy maid	-			8	0	0	8	0	0
12. House steward	40	0	0	63	0	0	63	0	0
13. Valet	-			30	0	0	30	0	0
14. Groom	20	0	0	30	0	0	30	0	0
15. Cook	22	0	0	50	0	0	50	0	0
16. Lord's footman	20	0	0	16	0	0	12	7	0
17. Lady's footman	18	0	0	16	0	0	18	0	0
18. Under butler	14	0	0	16	0	0	16	0	0
19. Bailiff	20	0	0	50	0	0	50	0	0
20. Gamekeeper	21	0	0	57	14	0	59	14	0
21. Kitchen gardener	16	0	0	25	0	0	25	0	0
22. Groom	-			16	0	0	16	0	0
23. 1st coachman	-			26	5	0	26	5	0
24. 2nd coachman	-			15	0	0	16	16	0
25. Postillion	14	0	0	6	6	0	9	9	0
26. Houseboy	4	0	0	8	8	0	9	9	0
27. Pantry boy	-			-			8	8	0
28. London porter	-			21	0	0	21	0	0
29. Footman	11	1	6	-			-		
30. Postillion	7	0	0	-			-		
31. Houseman	20	0	0	-			-		
32. Whipperin	5	0	0	-			-		

1. D/DBy A11.

2. D/DBy A12.

3. D/DBy A14.

APPENDIX 20 : HOUSEKEEPING 1765-1797*

YEAR	£	s	d
1765	613	13	8 $\frac{3}{4}$
1766	573	19	4
1767	728	13	2 $\frac{1}{2}$
1768	576	18	0
1769	717	14	0 $\frac{1}{2}$
1770	713	7	6 $\frac{1}{4}$
1771	775	5	1 $\frac{1}{2}$
1772	895	6	0
1773	846	19	4
1774	768	19	5
1775	784	17	5 $\frac{1}{2}$
1776	678	9	8 $\frac{1}{2}$
1777	849	6	9 $\frac{3}{4}$
1778	841	6	7
1779	793	16	7 $\frac{3}{4}$
1780	795	13	4
1781	836	0	0 $\frac{3}{4}$
1782	816	6	10 $\frac{1}{2}$
1783	815	14	0 $\frac{3}{4}$
1784	920	8	10 $\frac{1}{4}$
1785	831	14	7 $\frac{1}{2}$
1786	1,011	2	9
1787	977	17	5 $\frac{1}{2}$
1788	1,100	5	3 $\frac{1}{4}$
1789	971	3	5
1790	1,006	17	9 $\frac{1}{4}$
1791	1,059	18	3 $\frac{1}{4}$
1792	1,037	7	6 $\frac{1}{4}$
1793	1,030	6	6 $\frac{1}{2}$
1794	1,723	11	2 $\frac{1}{4}$
1795	-	-	-
1796	-	-	-
1797	599	19	3 $\frac{1}{2}$
	26,093	0	2 $\frac{1}{2}$

* D/DBy A196-226.

APPENDIX 21 : HOME FARM PRODUCE PAYMENTS 1772-1797*

YEAR	1772	1773	1774	1775	1776	1777
January				22 10 4	38 8 4½	41 14 4¼
February	18 13 7½			13 6 9	6 1 0½	23 19 9
March		32 0 7½	63 19 4	14 13 0	15 8 6½	9 8 1½
April				11 12 0½	13 13 8	9 16 0
May				9 7 8½	15 8 5½	16 3 7½
June	10 5 7	6 16 6	31 5 10½	8 19 4	12 7 0	20 4 4½
July				9 7 11	6 1 7	12 17 10
August				8 2 6	8 18 2½	2 15 9
September	13 13 9¾	34 8 8½	35 13 3½	16 11 0	17 6 3¾	9 5 4½
October				24 7 6	18 10 9	21 4 7½
November				19 2 11½	37 12 2	28 4 3½
December	68 7 1½	108 4 8	98 2 7	28 18 9	27 17 4	38 18 9¼

* D/DBy A262+264.

YEAR	1778	1779	1780	1781	1782	1783
January	18 8 6	25 17 $1\frac{1}{2}$	10 6 0	14 1 3	33 15 $3\frac{1}{2}$	23 13 $9\frac{1}{2}$
February	15 18 6	11 3 5	14 10 4	9 17 6	14 2 $1\frac{1}{4}$	11 19 $8\frac{3}{4}$
March	16 14 $8\frac{1}{2}$	10 0 $11\frac{1}{2}$	22 17 8	33 7 10	10 15 9	13 13 9
April	11 12 $10\frac{1}{2}$	12 5 $3\frac{1}{2}$	5 11 6	8 9 10	14 8 $10\frac{3}{4}$	11 4 $8\frac{3}{4}$
May	13 7 3	14 2 $1\frac{1}{4}$	7 3 0	11 19 $10\frac{1}{4}$	18 19 5	14 2 $5\frac{1}{2}$
June	18 1 $10\frac{1}{2}$	14 18 5	10 17 $6\frac{1}{2}$	19 8 7	6 5 $1\frac{1}{2}$	17 2 $4\frac{1}{2}$
July	14 2 $10\frac{1}{2}$	18 15 $7\frac{1}{2}$	11 8 0	20 4 4	16 2 11	11 2 10
August	7 16 2	8 14 $9\frac{1}{2}$	3 12 3	14 19 5	17 3 0	18 19 3
September	8 17 $9\frac{1}{2}$	4 5 0	10 8 0	3 2 $2\frac{1}{2}$	5 4 0	18 3 $10\frac{1}{2}$
October	31 16 $8\frac{1}{2}$	6 18 0	35 6 $0\frac{1}{2}$	27 18 6	23 16 $10\frac{1}{2}$	35 13 $7\frac{1}{2}$
November	32 17 $5\frac{3}{4}$	34 16 7	19 17 6	37 13 $4\frac{1}{4}$	36 4 10	20 13 $9\frac{1}{2}$
December	60 0 $3\frac{1}{2}$	46 12 $9\frac{3}{4}$	27 12 7	33 2 7	74 3 $4\frac{1}{4}$	44 18 6

Y R	1784	1785	1786	1787	1788	1789
January	39 1 $7\frac{1}{2}$	56 14 $1\frac{1}{2}$	52 8 $3\frac{1}{2}$	39 13 1	58 15 9	49 15 11
February	17 6 7	13 1 10	11 9 $10\frac{1}{2}$	31 6 5	42 1 $6\frac{1}{2}$	31 12 6
March	14 2 3	14 10 2	15 14 $4\frac{1}{2}$	16 8 11	12 4 0	18 12 4
April	8 17 5	12 13 7	10 15 7	10 3 7	14 7 11	13 7 9
May	20 3 6	5 4 $11\frac{1}{2}$	11 19 10	14 3 7	8 1 9	8 6 0
June	12 11 6	2 19 $10\frac{1}{2}$	18 15 5	16 8 0	13 4 0	11 5 6
July	11 12 $1\frac{1}{2}$	2 15 3	23 17 $3\frac{1}{2}$	16 2 $10\frac{1}{2}$	24 14 6	24 3 $9\frac{1}{2}$
August	10 19 $6\frac{1}{2}$	3 0 9	18 1 $11\frac{1}{2}$	18 0 $4\frac{1}{4}$	19 1 0	6 10 2
September	17 14 $3\frac{1}{2}$	2 9 1	15 2 2	15 15 $10\frac{1}{2}$	18 9 8	14 16 $9\frac{1}{2}$
October	27 17 $9\frac{1}{2}$	29 13 11	39 0 2	27 17 11	28 7 2	25 2 $11\frac{1}{2}$
November	28 8 6	32 1 $10\frac{1}{2}$	37 15 11	39 15 $9\frac{1}{4}$	38 8 6	36 19 8
December	51 16 10	56 17 $0\frac{1}{4}$	45 2 $11\frac{1}{2}$	47 9 $6\frac{3}{4}$	50 10 1	45 14 $2\frac{1}{2}$

YEA	1790	1791	1792	1793	1794	179
January	36 10 2	23 18 7	49 18 5 $\frac{1}{2}$	47 15 8 $\frac{1}{2}$	48 6 9 $\frac{1}{2}$	61 18 8
February	27 16 5 $\frac{1}{2}$	26 12 2	28 16 5	39 10 9 $\frac{1}{2}$	36 15 10	33 14 1
March	13 7 9	15 17 8	16 5 5	15 3 9	29 3 4 $\frac{1}{2}$	34 0 2
April	17 2 11	9 8 7	12 16 10 $\frac{1}{2}$	10 5 7 $\frac{1}{2}$	11 7 4	16 13 4
May	15 0 7	16 10 1	18 14 2	18 0 10	16 9 4 $\frac{1}{2}$	15 4 5 $\frac{1}{2}$
June	18 16 11	21 6 3	18 5 11 $\frac{1}{2}$	17 7 2	19 13 6 $\frac{1}{2}$	17 10 2
July	13 1 4 $\frac{1}{2}$	22 4 2	17 15 1	19 9 3	19 4 9 $\frac{1}{2}$	19 19 0
August	6 14 3 $\frac{1}{2}$	18 17 4	19 13 8	16 18 6 $\frac{1}{2}$	17 6 1 $\frac{1}{2}$	14 8 8
September	16 4 5 $\frac{1}{2}$	15 15 7 $\frac{1}{2}$	18 6 9	16 10 9 $\frac{1}{2}$	18 16 8	20 3 9 $\frac{1}{2}$
October	26 15 0 $\frac{1}{2}$	24 2 1	34 4 4 $\frac{1}{2}$	35 11 11	36 15 8	32 5 2
November	36 19 1 $\frac{1}{2}$	41 13 11	45 10 5	46 13 0 $\frac{1}{2}$	41 7 0 $\frac{1}{2}$	45 18 9 $\frac{1}{2}$
December	50 14 2	46 16 4 $\frac{1}{2}$	61 4 6	53 14 8 $\frac{1}{2}$	56 0 10 $\frac{1}{4}$	56 5 10 $\frac{3}{4}$

YEAR	1796	1797
January	55 6 $1\frac{1}{2}$	73 7 $11\frac{1}{2}$
February	49 17 $3\frac{1}{2}$	73 12 $2\frac{1}{2}$
March	37 16 9	59 18 8
April	21 10 5	27 0 0
May	13 3 7	26 8 4
June	21 7 $6\frac{1}{2}$	22 11 11
July	19 4 $5\frac{1}{2}$	21 10 2
August	24 1 7	22 17 1
September	25 19 $2\frac{1}{2}$	14 4 4
October	42 5 $4\frac{1}{2}$	45 16 2
November	59 14 4	56 15 $7\frac{1}{2}$
December	66 8 $1\frac{1}{2}$	63 5 3

APPENDIX 22 : SOAP AND WASHING 1765-1797.*

YEAR	£	s	d
1765	14	4	8
1766	88	5	3½
1767	48	16	9
1768	23	11	11½
1769	20	9	7½
1770	20	13	8¾
1771	23	9	7¾
1772	39	5	10½
1773	21	19	1½
1774	23	14	9
1775	19	17	4¾
1776	22	1	6
1777	17	17	4½
1778	25	0	10¾
1779	25	8	6
1780	25	17	10¾
1781	25	4	6½
1782	28	15	6½
1783	21	13	9
1784	27	8	8½
1785	39	1	9½
1786	26	7	8¾
1787	33	10	7
1788	30	2	4¾
1789	32	19	8½
1790	25	5	7
1791	33	12	8½

YEAR	£	s	d
1792	28	1	10½
1793	26	1	6¾
1794	30	6	9½
1795	-	-	-
1796	-	-	-
1797	13	5	8½
	882	13	11½

* D/DBy A196-226.

APPENDIX 23 : STORES 1765-1797 *

YEAR	£	s	d
1765	9	6	1 $\frac{1}{4}$
1766	12	17	10 $\frac{1}{2}$
1767	12	19	3 $\frac{1}{2}$
1768	6	4	3 $\frac{1}{4}$
1769	8	15	5 $\frac{1}{2}$
1770	11	2	0 $\frac{1}{2}$
1771	9	13	1 $\frac{1}{2}$
1772	4	16	5 $\frac{1}{2}$
1773	14	12	4 $\frac{1}{2}$
1774	5	5	9 $\frac{1}{2}$
1775	8	11	0 $\frac{1}{2}$
1776	7	7	8
1777	10	14	2 $\frac{1}{2}$
1778	2	12	10
1779	19	19	0
1780	10	19	5
1781	16	8	7
1782	6	2	8
1783	19	5	0
1784	14	5	10
1785	10	4	0
1786	16	11	8 $\frac{1}{2}$
1787	15	16	0
1788	17	16	2 $\frac{1}{2}$
1789	17	0	2 $\frac{1}{4}$
1790	18	8	3
1791	15	18	4 $\frac{1}{2}$
1792	15	12	5
1793	19	10	5
1794	17	3	10
1795	-	-	-
1796	-	-	-
1797		13	0
	376	13	5 $\frac{1}{4}$

* D/DBy A196-226.

APPENDIX 24 : CANDLES AND OIL 1765-1797.*

YEAR	£	s	d
1765	2	14	11
1766	23	7	5
1767	45	4	2
1768	36	12	9
1769	64	12	3
1770	62	10	3
1771	74	6	6
1772	75	13	8
1773	86	11	7
1774	35	9	1
1775	120	2	10
1776	99	9	2
1777	100	0	0
1778	101	8	4
1779	87	17	3
1780	77	18	5
1781	93	4	2
1782	94	4	11
1783	85	8	10
1784	94	10	2
1785	88	14	1
1786	106	18	6
1787	129	19	6
1788	119	7	6
1789	111	12	1
1790	105	16	11
1791	107	6	1
1792	103	16	8
1793	100	1	2
1794	129	11	9½
1795	-	-	-
1796	-	-	-
1797	62	16	1
	2,627	7	0½

* D/DBy A196-226.

APPENDIX 25 : COAL, CHARCOAL AND WOOD 1765-1797 *

YEAR	£	s	d
1765	89	14	1
1766	118	6	11
1767	146	19	6
1768	114	18	6½
1769	138	13	4
1770	135	3	1½
1771	163	17	6
1772	186	16	3
1773	145	13	3
1774	186	3	4
1775	166	11	2
1776	179	9	10
1777	163	16	2
1778	176	7	10½
1779	164	5	3
1780	209	1	8
1781	207	2	1½
1782	213	3	0½
1783	174	16	6
1784	185	0	10½
1785	176	0	6
1786	234	10	0
1787	225	12	6½
1788	227	16	11½
1789	213	11	2½
1790	262	9	5
1791	214	17	6
1792	230	3	6
1793	247	13	4
1794	258	14	8
1795	-	-	-
1796	-	-	-
1797	30	11	8
	5,588	1	7½

* D/DBy A196-226.

APPENDIX 26 : CONTINGENCIES 1766-1797*

YEAR	£	s	d
1765	-	-	-
1766	44	5	5
1767	36	17	6
1768	46	11	11½
1769	33	3	6
1770	49	8	4
1771	34	14	6½
1772	45	2	7¾
1773	44	16	4½
1774	54	5	2
1775	42	9	2½
1776	38	5	9
1777	41	13	3½
1778	42	9	4
1779	45	1	10½
1780	44	4	7½
1781	36	1	4
1782	31	4	7
1783	49	6	10
1784	46	7	7
1785	44	19	10
1786	49	11	6¼
1787	50	10	2¼
1788	42	5	1
1789	167	5	1½
1790	43	16	7
1791	42	18	6½
1792	44	6	6
1793	40	9	6
1794	43	6	2½
1795	-	-	-
1796	-	-	-
1797	16	10	3
<hr/>			
	1,392	9	2¼

* D/DBy A197-226.

APPENDIX 27 : WINE 1765-1797.*

YEAR	£	s	d
1765	139	5	8½
1766	343	14	10½
1767	138	18	9½
1768	105	2	8½
1769	189	1	3½
1770	183	17	0½
1771	138	8	5
1772	187	18	2
1773	190	9	9
1774	50	3	2
1775	156	11	2
1776	118	11	9
1777	175	18	6
1778	279	2	1
1779	172	1	9
1780	113	16	11
1781	99	2	9
1782	175	18	5
1783	249	19	2
1784	224	17	11
1785	97	14	1
1786	117	15	10
1787	195	18	9
1788	186	9	8
1789	146	6	6
1790	84	17	7
1791	133	0	0
1792	157	7	10
1793	173	10	11
1794	154	3	5
1795	-	-	-
1796	-	-	-
1797	54	8	6
	4,934	13	5

* D/DBy A196-226.

APPENDIX 28 : BEER 1765-1797.*

YEAR	£	s	d
1765	97	13	10½
1766	45	18	8
1767	104	9	8
1768	74	7	0
1769	122	8	3
1770	80	6	3½
1771	140	2	1
1772	107	17	11
1773	119	4	3¾
1774	132	1	5
1775	110	9	0
1776	99	8	0
1777	146	16	2
1778	87	2	6¾
1779	99	0	10¼
1780	99	16	3½
1781	104	0	7¼
1782	143	1	10
1783	150	3	3¼
1784	171	3	1
1785	98	0	11¾
1786	155	11	6
1787	183	15	5¼
1788	158	2	10½
1789	170	15	3
1790	152	12	7¼
1791	161	13	1¼
1792	189	14	4½
1793	174	10	7¾
1794	227	16	8½
1795	-	-	-
1796	-	-	-
1797	54	14	0
	3,962	18	7½

* D/DBy A196-226.

APPENDIX 29 : SERVANTS' LIVERIES 1766-1797.*

YEAR	£	s	d
1765	-	-	-
1766	145	15	8
1767	91	18	0
1768	65	18	2
1769	150	19	0
1770	117	10	1
1771	94	3	0
1772	79	8	8
1773	109	19	6
1774	54	8	0
1775	151	15	0
1776	119	12	6
1777	36	13	6
1778	127	5	9
1779	141	8	6
1780	79	2	4
1781	102	3	1
1782	111	0	0
1783	94	17	6½
1784	140	18	3
1785	90	4	8
1786	136	12	6
1787	105	4	9
1788	106	6	6
1789	114	4	8
1790	107	0	1
1791	132	7	11
1792	96	18	1
1793	139	8	9½
1794	131	17	6
1795	-	-	-
1796	-	-	-
1797	8	3	3
	3,183	5	3

* D/DBy A197-226.

APPENDIX 30 : APPAREL 1765-1797.*

YEAR	£	s	d
1765	156	4	5
1766	302	5	5
1767	149	14	0
1768	169	10	10
1769	64	0	6
1770	149	3	2½
1771	76	13	5
1772	132	4	1½
1773	76	4	8½
1774	74	8	1
1775	143	11	3½
1776	120	0	3
1777	135	5	8
1778	134	2	2
1779	136	12	4½
1780	105	19	10½
1781	89	10	3
1782	95	2	5
1783	136	19	1
1784	125	16	2
1785	110	15	4
1786	110	8	3
1787	72	12	7½
1788	144	18	4
1789	127	16	2½
1790	85	1	5
1791	109	18	7
1792	85	7	6
1793	56	0	6
1794	74	10	5
1795	-	-	-
1796	-	-	-
1797	2	2	3
	3,552	19	8

* D/DBy A196-226.

APPENDIX 31 : HEALTH 1765-1797.*

YEAR	£	s	d
1765	41	16	4
1766	54	8	2
1767	35	15	4
1768	14	5	0
1769	15	0	2
1770	16	8	0
1771	27	7	9
1772	20	9	0
1773	34	15	6
1774	26	17	6
1775	14	9	0
1776	17	19	8
1777	33	9	3
1778	31	11	6
1779	21	17	0
1780	22	8	6
1781	35	14	6
1782	36	1	4
1783	29	10	6
1784	29	2	0
1785	26	12	6
1786	36	2	10
1787	36	6	3
1788	45	3	4
1789	28	8	1
1790	34	11	1
1791	44	16	0
1792	78	4	9
1793	31	17	6
1794	44	8	6
1795	-	-	-
1796	-	-	-
1797		7	6
	966	4	4

* D/DBy A196-226.

APPENDIX 32 : GAME - SHOOTING, HUNTING, MENAGERIE 1766-1797.*

YEAR	£	s	d
1765	-	-	-
1766	67	6	9½
1767	63	9	10
1768	74	5	7
1769	45	8	1
1770	70	7	4½
1771	107	2	1¼
1772	150	14	11
1773	154	4	11½
1774	149	4	2
1775	198	3	3½
1776	164	16	10½
1777	164	13	11½
1778	179	15	7
1779	153	16	8¼
1780	144	12	10
1781	140	9	11
1782	143	0	3½
1783	141	8	6
1784	153	7	5¾
1785	170	1	9
1786	167	12	2½
1787	140	6	11¾
1788	143	7	9½
1789	143	7	9½
1790	168	10	8½
1791	174	4	5½
1792	194	17	5¾
1793	183	8	9½
1794	201	17	1½
1795	-	-	-
1796	-	-	-
1797	78	12	1
	4,232	16	4¾

* D/DBy A197-226.

APPENDIX 33 : STABLES 1765-1797.*

YEAR	£	s	d
1765	350	13	11
1766	917	4	1½
1767	395	7	6
1768	349	17	5½
1769	421	1	6
1770	532	18	5
1771	701	19	2½
1772	640	16	5½
1773	745	10	3½
1774	479	5	6¾
1775	528	0	11¼
1776	471	8	4½
1777	515	14	11
1778	632	16	2½
1779	535	11	9
1780	444	8	11½
1781	364	14	10
1782	491	6	9
1783	630	18	5½
1784	557	15	5½
1785	725	4	3
1786	460	18	8
1787	710	4	0½
1788	565	5	2
1789	507	12	11½
1790	508	11	1½
1791	732	14	7
1792	552	14	5
1793	464	11	4½
1794	627	8	7
1795	-	-	-
1796	-	-	-
1797	155	13	6
	16,718	9	9

* D/DBy A196-226.

APPENDIX 34 : TRAVEL 1765-1797.^{*}

YEAR	£	s	d
1765	156	12	3½
1766	241	6	2½
1767	201	2	1½
1768	210	3	3
1769	232	15	0½
1770	368	18	7½
1771	276	15	3½
1772	300	6	5½
1773	286	9	9½
1774	232	12	6
1775	262	0	9½
1776	272	9	2
1777	158	8	9½
1778	239	0	3¾
1779	233	3	11½
1780	233	15	1
1781	248	7	7½
1782	282	12	3
1783	223	3	6½
1784	210	0	10¼
1785	380	15	7
1786	186	9	2½
1787	210	8	5½
1788	246	7	7
1789	215	15	7
1790	192	14	4½
1791	193	17	2½
1792	126	2	0
1793	144	15	9½
1794	152	4	7½
1795	-	-	-
1796	-	-	-
1797	32	12	10
	6,952	7	2½

* D/DBy A196-226.

APPENDIX 35 : BOOKS, NEWSPAPERS AND STATIONERY 1765-1797.*

YEAR	£	s	d
1765	58	13	6½
1766	37	10	6½
1767	53	8	0
1768	41	3	5
1769	27	9	6½
1770	54	4	9½
1771	89	5	9
1772	36	3	9
1773	47	0	3½
1774	40	1	6½
1775	23	13	11
1776	51	19	2¼
1777	32	16	11
1778	41	12	9
1779	46	12	0
1780	62	2	5
1781	44	9	9
1782	30	3	1½
1783	53	15	9½
1784	42	8	0
1785	61	9	6
1786	54	4	11
1787	44	13	11
1788	80	17	10
1789	66	18	7½
1790	77	2	10
1791	101	8	5½
1792	85	16	9
1793	91	10	3½
1794	72	9	8
1795	-	-	-
1796	-	-	-
1797	22	16	11
	1,674	4	8¾

* D/DBy A196-226.

*

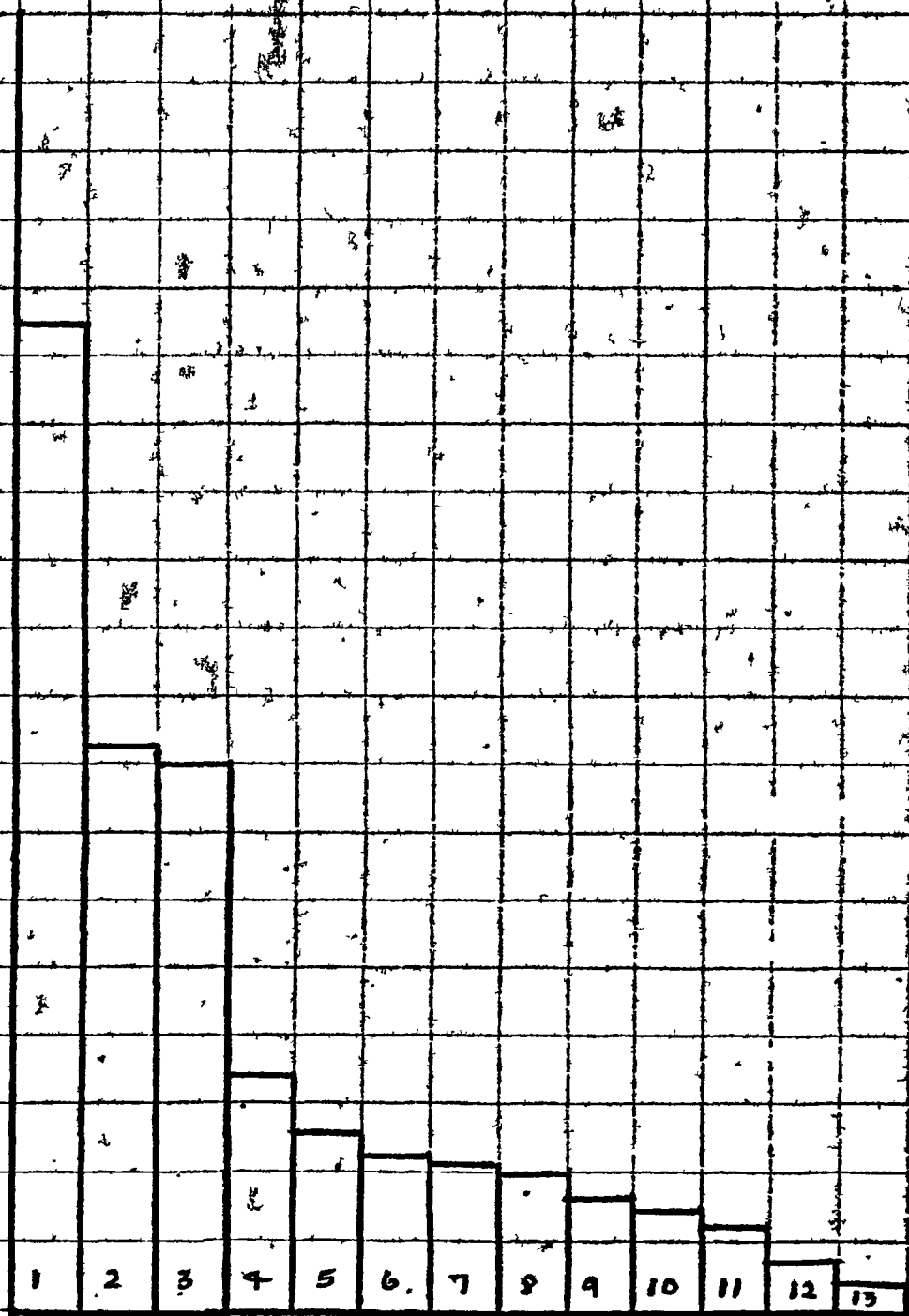
APPENDIX 36 : HOUSEHOLD RELATIVITIES TABLE.

DEPARTMENT/SECTION	GLOBAL SUM	PERCENTAGE	ANNUAL	WEEKLY
	£		£	£
1. Housekeeping ^x	30,615	28.9	956	18.3
2. Stables	17,822	16.8	552	10.6
3. Servants' wages	17,072	16.	533	10.2
4. Travel	7,412	7.	230	4.4
5. Fuel	5,958	5.5	185	3.5
6. Wine	5,258	4.9	162	3.1
7. Game	4,518	4.2	143	2.7
8. Beer	4,222	3.9	130	2.5
9. Apparel	3,788	3.4	118	2.2
10. Liveries	3,401	3.2	112	2.1
11. Lighting	2,797	2.5	85	1.6
12. Books	1,784	1.6	55	1.
13. Health	1,030	0.9	32	0.6
Total	105,677			

* D/DBy A196-226: these are the projected totals.

x Housekeeping includes stores, soap and contingencies.

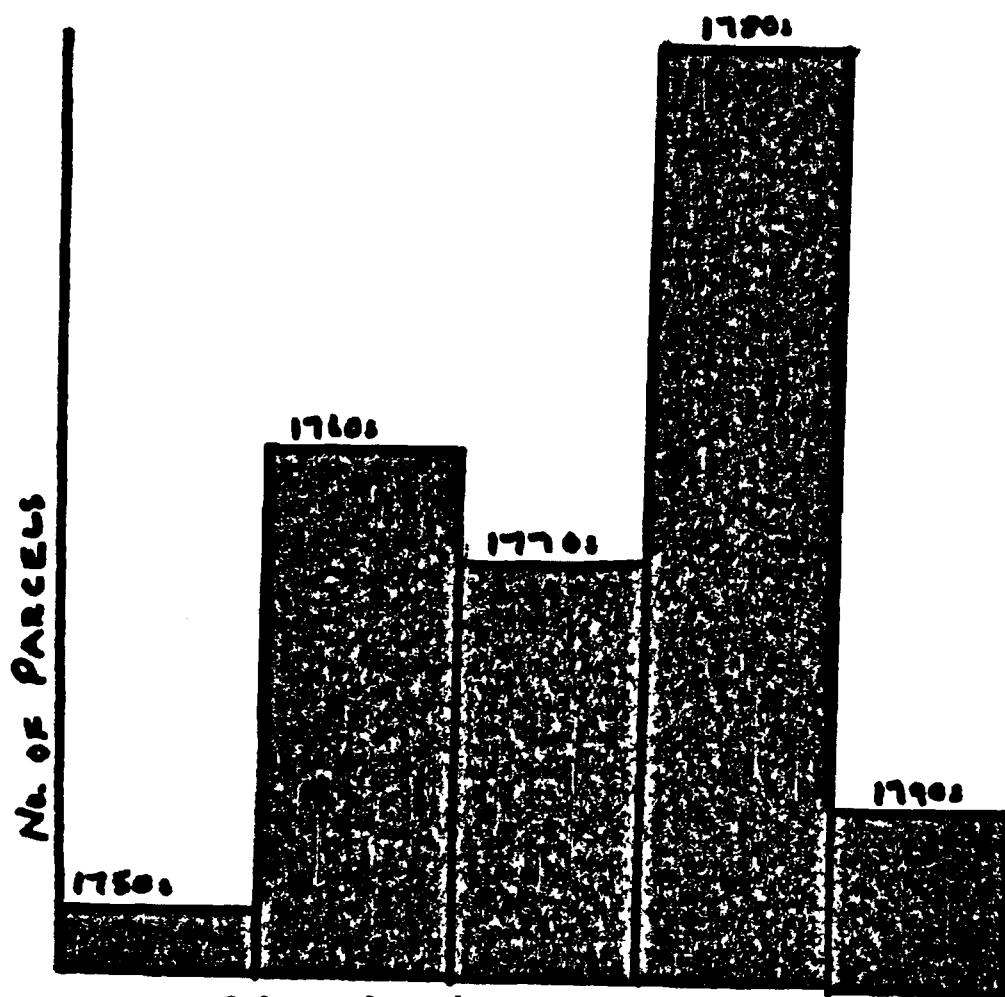
HOUSEHOLD RELATIVITIES TABLE BLOCK GRAPH.



APPENDIX 37 :

APPENDIX 31. PURCHASES AND COST PER DECADE

DECADE	No. OF PARCELS	CASH PAID
1750s	9	£303
1760s	90	£5,220
1770s	70	£3,354
1780s	180	£8,888
1790s	30	£7,066
TOTAL	379	£24,831



*E.R.O. DID Ad 44: for The manors of Brooke & Chipping Whorton

*

APPENDIX 38 : INDIVIDUAL LAND PURCHASES 1754-1775.

NAME	CASH	YEAR	AREA	* DEED CATALOGUE
	£ s d			
Mrs Morgan	240 0 0	1754	Saffron Walden	T1/11-35
John Seaman	63 0 0	1755	" "	" /36-39
William Seaman	30 0 0	1760	" "	" /40-51
Elizabeth Herbert	26 5 0	1761	" "	" /52-60
William Turner	26 5 0	1762	" "	" /61-62
James King	36 15 0	1762	" "	" /63-70
Edward Ball	721 0 0	1763	" "	" /71-131
Robert Cole	10 10 0	1764	" "	" /132-135
Sarah Lagden	135 5 0	1764	" "	" /136-148
Sarah Burling	21 0 0	1765	" "	" /148A-E
Daniel Woodruffe	63 0 0	1765	" "	" /149-150
Richard Trott	560 0 0	1765	" "	" /151-167
Furbank & Joscelyne	200 0 0	1765	" "	" /168-174
Mary Westrope	160 0 0	1766	" "	" /175-185
Stephen Wyatt	140 0 0	1767	" "	" /186-190
Thomas Headland	300 0 0	1768	" "	" /191-240
John Winstanley	90 0 0	1768	" "	" /261-284
William Fairchild & others	400 0 0	1768	" "	" /285-300
Joseph Collins	2,000 0 0	1768	" "	" /301-333
Robert Cole	300 0 0	1769	" "	" /334-362
Thomas Pennystone	830 0 0	1770	" "	" /404-458
George Cater	25 0 0	1770	Littlebury	" /459-463
Charles Shepherd	1,050 0 0	1770	"	" /464-577
Charles Duke	357 0 0	1771	"	" /578-595

NAME	CASH	YEAR	AREA	* DEED CATALOGUE
	£ s d			
James Lagden's heirs	45 0 0	1771	Saffron Walden	T1/595A-F
John Mason & others	63 0 0	1771	" "	" /596-607
John Shelford	20 0 0	1772	" "	" /608-610
John Archer	50 0 0	1772	" "	" /611-614
Thomas Pennystone	210 0 0	1772	" "	" /615-640
William Welsh	30 0 0	1772	Saffron Walden & Littlebury	" /641-648
Allen Taylor	420 0 0	1772	Saffron Walden	" /649-673
Thomas Blackmore	180 0 0	1772	" "	" /674-689
Stephen Smith	1,060 0 0	1773	" "	" /690-738
William Allen	63 0 0	1774	" "	" /739-745
John Woolley	34 0 0	1774	" "	" /746-754
Earl of Bristol	5,000 0 0	1774	Littlebury and Saffron Walden	" /755-760
Jeffrey Cowell	42 10 0	1774	Littlebury	" /761-775
William Tinworth	65 0 0	1774	"	" /776-785
Frances Cowell and others	34 0 0	1775	Saffron Walden	" /786-800
John Bedington	5 5 0	1775	" "	" /801-803
Lawrence Mynott	50 0 0	1775	" "	" /818-828
Daniel Webb	50 0 0	1775	" "	" /829-840
Sarah Freeman & others	210 0 0	1775	" "	" /841-853
George Buck	63 0 0	1775	Littlebury	" /854-856
	15,479 15 0			

APPENDIX 39 : INDIVIDUAL LAND PURCHASES 1777-1797.*

NAME	CASH	YEAR	AREA	* DEED CATALOGUE
	£ s d			
T. and J. Moulds	180 0 0	1777	Littlebury	T4/1-15
John Giblin	315 0 0	1779	Saffron Walden	" /16-46
Mr. Maurice	210 0 0	1780	Littlebury	" /47-57
Robert Ives and others	84 0 0	1780	Saffron Walden	" /58-63
Margaret Cowell and others	400 0 0	1781	" "	" /64-86
Mr. Fuller	525 0 0	1782	" "	" /87-113
Mr. Churchman	300 0 0	1782	" "	" /114-139
Mr. & Mrs. Gwennop	525 0 0	1783	" "	" /140-155
Thomas Fuller	215 5 0	1783	" "	" /160-164
James Boyston	40 0 0	1783	" "	" /165
John Browne	430 0 0	1783	" "	" /166-186
William Archer	275 5 0	1783	" "	" /187-197
Stephen Player	180 0 0	1783	" "	" /198-221
John Bush	500 0 0	1784	" "	" /222-251
Thomas Pennystone	3,000 0 0	1785	" "	" /252-258
Payne and Lagden	308 0 0	1786	" "	" /259-275
Charles Clapton	100 0 0	1787	" "	" /276-296
Mr. Dillingham	750 0 0	1787	Littlebury	" /297-302
John Salmon	55 0 0	1788	Saffron Walden	" /303-313
Mrs. Ingrey	1,741 5 0	1788	" "	" /316-362
Robert Kempton	30 0 0	1790	Wendens	" /314-315
Thomas Hantley	115 0 0	1790	Saffron Walden	" /363-368
John Filbridge	96 15 0	1791	" "	" /369-388

APPENDIX 39 (continued)

NAME	CASH	YEAR	AREA	* DEED CATALOGUE
	£ s d			
John Chalk	210 0 0	1792	Saffron Walden	T4/389-398
Thomas Searle	52 10 0	1792	" "	" /399-411
Samuel Barnes and others	63 0 0	1792	" "	" /412-421
Allen Taylor	945 0 0	1792	" "	" /422-427
Thomas Archer	900 0 0	1792	" "	" /428-458
William Allen	642 0 0	1793	" "	" /459-489
Edward Leverett	320 0 0	1794	" "	" /490-516
James Raymond	520 0 0	1794	" "	" /517-532
Richard Spencer	300 0 0	1794	" "	" /533-550
James Raymond	152 5 0	1794	" "	" /551-554
John Crussell	40 0 0	1795	" "	" /555-558
Richard Ward	600 0 0	1795	" "	" /559-590
William Webb	35 0 0	1795	Wendens	" /591-597
John Mortlock	1,535 0 0	1795	Ashdon	" /598-616
James Archer	10 0 0	1796	Saffron Walden	" /617-618
Thomas Price	90 0 0	1796	" "	" /619-625
Thomas Hantler	100 0 0	1796	" "	" /626-630
Thomas Fuller	1,050 0 0	1797	" "	" /631-649
Thomas Rumbold Hall	210 0 0	1797	Wendens	" /650-655
William Archer	20 0 0	1797	Saffron Walden	" /656-665
William Rankin	840 0 0	1797	Saffron Walden	" /666-689
	18,710 5 0			

*

APPENDIX 40 : ESTATE DEVELOPMENT ABSTRACT.

(a) Essex.

AREA	ACREAGE			COST		
	A.	R.	P.	£	s	d
Saffron Walden	789	3	30	24,831	10	0
Littlebury	331	3	19 ^x	12,742	10	0
Wendens	3	0	0 [*]	275	0	0
Ashdon	48	0	0 ^x	1,535	0	0
TOTAL	1172	3	9	39,384	0	0

(b) Out county.

COUNTY	ACREAGE			COST		
	A.	R.	P.	£	s	d
Norfolk	327	1	34	-	-	- ^x
Suffolk	186	0	0	5,000	0	0
Northants	935	3	39	10,000	0	0
TOTAL	1,449	1	33	15,000	0	0

COMBINED TOTAL	2,622	1	2 ^x	54,384	0	0 [*]
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* Based on D/DBY T1/1-856; T4/1-689; T5/1-35; T6/50 56B; T26; D/DAD 44; Drummond Bank Ledgers 1763-1797; Hervey (ed.). The Journal of the Hon. William Hervey...1755-1814, 360.

x Minimum acreage or cash.

APPENDIX 41 : HOME FARM ANNUAL ACCOUNTS.*

YEAR	DEBIT			CREDIT			BALANCE		
	£	s	d	£	s	d	£	s	d
1772	601	15	9 $\frac{1}{4}$	495	4	10 $\frac{1}{4}$	106	10	11 ^x
1773	619	11	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	693	16	0 $\frac{1}{2}$	74	4	11
1774	628	19	8 $\frac{1}{2}$	907	2	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	278	2	7
1775	589	11	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	921	1	7	331	10	2 $\frac{1}{2}$
1776	805	19	7 $\frac{1}{2}$	915	1	8 $\frac{3}{4}$	109	2	1 $\frac{1}{4}$
1777	876	7	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	1,108	10	10 $\frac{3}{4}$	232	3	6 $\frac{1}{4}$
1778	790	16	0 $\frac{3}{4}$	1,138	6	8 $\frac{3}{4}$	347	10	8
1779	756	0	6 $\frac{1}{2}$	1,082	2	5	326	1	10 $\frac{1}{2}$
1780	596	13	8	914	17	6 $\frac{1}{2}$	318	3	10 $\frac{1}{2}$
1781	695	17	1 $\frac{3}{4}$	1,012	4	2 $\frac{1}{4}$	316	7	0 $\frac{1}{2}$
1782	931	18	9 $\frac{1}{2}$	1,264	19	2 $\frac{1}{4}$	333	0	4 $\frac{3}{4}$
1783	890	12	0 $\frac{1}{4}$	1,401	6	0 $\frac{1}{2}$	510	14	0 $\frac{1}{4}$
1784	1,034	16	5 $\frac{3}{4}$	1,362	7	8	327	11	2 $\frac{1}{4}$
1785	734	11	1	1,091	16	11 $\frac{1}{4}$	357	5	10 $\frac{1}{4}$
1786	739	11	3 $\frac{1}{4}$	1,178	9	6	438	18	2 $\frac{3}{4}$
1787	838	19	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	1,193	16	11 $\frac{1}{4}$	354	17	6 $\frac{3}{4}$
1788	784	11	5 $\frac{1}{4}$	1,229	0	0 $\frac{1}{2}$	444	8	7 $\frac{1}{4}$
1789	740	9	10 $\frac{3}{4}$	1,125	19	7	385	9	8 $\frac{1}{4}$
1790	936	18	4 $\frac{1}{4}$	1,337	18	6	401	0	1 $\frac{3}{4}$
1791	840	12	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	1,321	8	2	480	16	0 $\frac{1}{2}$
1792	942	0	3	1,460	14	0	518	13	9
1793	910	7	10 $\frac{3}{4}$	1,454	0	8 $\frac{1}{2}$	543	12	9 $\frac{3}{4}$
1794	881	14	1 $\frac{1}{4}$	1,372	13	2 $\frac{3}{4}$	490	19	1 $\frac{1}{2}$
1795	1,096	2	11 $\frac{1}{4}$	1,556	17	4	460	14	4 $\frac{3}{4}$
1796	1,259	18	3 $\frac{3}{4}$	1,783	10	6	523	12	2 $\frac{1}{4}$
1797	1,102	10	1	1,541	5	2	438	15	1
	21,627	6	9 $\frac{3}{4}$	30,864	11	9 $\frac{1}{4}$ ⁺	9,343	15	10 $\frac{1}{2}$

* D/DBy A262-264.

x Unfavourable balance

+ The accounting is 1d. out of balance.

APPENDIX 42 : HOME FARM ABSTRACT OF CORN, HAY, AND IMPLEMENTS *
ANNUAL VALUATION 1776 - 1797.

	1776	1777	1778	1779	1780	1781
CORN ¹	50 0 0	60 16 0	85 17 0	114 17 0	158 17 0	143 9 6
HAY ²	200 0 0	424 0 0	322 0 0	335 0 0	378 10 0	417 0 0
IMPLEMENTS ³	97 0 0	131 4 0	126 0 0	130 0 0	140 0 0	132 10 0
Total	347 0 0	616 0 0	533 17 0	579 17 0	677 7 0	692 19 6
Live Stock	718 2 0	751 8 6	762 16 0	842 13 0	802 6 0	699 8 0
Grand total	1,065 2 0	1,367 8 6	1,296 13 0	1,422 10 0	1,479 13 0	1,392 7 6

* D/DBy A262-264.

1. Includes wheat, barley, peas, oats and buckwheat.

2. Includes turnips, straw, cabbages, wheat, rye, tares.

3. Includes waggons, carts, ploughs, harrows, rolls, drag rakes, forks, handles.

APPENDIX 42 (continued).

	1782	1783	1784	1785	1786	1787
CORN	119 2 0	213 0 0	204 0 0	185 2 0	154 2 7 $\frac{1}{2}$	114 6 0
HAY	540 0 0	525 0 0	515 0 0	522 0 0	416 10 0	784 6 0
IMPLEMENTS	131 0 0	122 10 0	125 0 0	127 10 0	103 0 0	102 0 0
Total	790 2 0	860 10 0	844 0 0	834 12 0	673 12 7 $\frac{1}{2}$	1,000 12 0
Live Stock	710 14 0	744 6 0	838 4 0	1,046 15 0	947 15 0	849 18 0
Grand total	1,500 16 0	1,604 16 0	1,682 4 0	1,881 7 0	1,621 7 7 $\frac{1}{2}$	1,850 10 0

APPENDIX 42 (Continued).

	1788	1789	1790	1791	1792	1793
CORN	155 2 0	142 12 0	126 2 0	196 14 0	221 8 0	291 0 0
HAY	673 7 6	456 0 0	560 10 0	566 10 0	445 8 0	470 12 0
IMPLEMENTS	86 0 0	91 0 0	106 0 0	106 0 0	114 0 0	114 0 0
Total	914 9 6	689 12 0	792 12 0	869 4 0	780 16 0	875 12 0
Live Stock	981 9 0	984 10 0	969 10 0	1,054 14 0	1,097 8 0	1,102 9 0
Grand total	1,895 18 6	1,674 2 0	1,762 2 0	1,923 18 0	1,878 4 0	1,978 1 0

APPENDIX 42 (continued).

	1794	1795	1796	1797
CORN	240 7 0	265 18 0	397 2 0	359 8 0
HAY	577 0 0	522 10 0	508 12 0	465 5 0
IMPLEMENTS	118 0 0	128 0 0	131 0 0	126 0 0
Total	935 7 0	916 8 0	1,036 14 0	950 13 0
Live Stock	1,034 4 0	1,061 11 0	1,135 10 6	1,319 4 0
Grand total	1,969 11 0	1,977 19 0	2,171 4 6	2,269 17 0

APPENDIX 43 :

APPENDIX 43: TILLAGE PATTERNS*

YEAR	Corn/Small seeds	Harvesting	Threshing	Manure	Townships	Straw	Peas	Barley	Rye	Tares	Mulching	Wheat	Oats	Potatoes
1776	✓	✓	✓	✓										
1776	✓	✓	✓	✓										
1777	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓									
1778	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓									
1779	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓				
1780	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓				
1781	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓				
1782	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓				
1783	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓				
1784	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	
1785	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
1786	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
1787	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
1788	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
1789	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
1790	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
1791	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
1792	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
1793	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
1794	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
1795	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
1796	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
1797	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓

* D/D By A291.

APPENDIX 44 : HOME FARM ABSTRACT OF LIVESTOCK ANNUAL VALUATION 1776-1797.*

LIVESTOCK	1776		1777		1778	
	Number	Value	Number	Value	Number	Value
Horses	11	140 8 0	13	165 5 0	13	169 0 0
Neat Cattle	32	184 8 0	33	193 5 0	33	225 0 0
Sheep	392	355 6 0	404	352 17 0	392	343 16 0
Hogs	25	38 0 0	22	40 1 6	20	25 0 0
Total	460	718 2 0	472	751 8 6	458	762 16 0

* D/DBy A262-264.

APPENDIX 44 (continued)

LIVESTOCK	1779		1780		1781	
	Number	Value	Number	Value	Number	Value
Horses	12	140 0 0	10	122 14 0	10	104 0 0
Neat Cattle	42	305 10 0	35	247 12 0	36	246 13 0
Sheep	415	362 3 0	456	387 0 0	425	311 6 0
Hogs	25	35 0 0	31	45 0 0	40	37 9 0
Total	494	842 13 0	532	802 6 0	511	699 8 0

APPENDIX 44 (continued)

LIVESTOCK	1782		1783		1784	
	Number	Value	Number	Value	Number	Value
Horses	10	107 13 0	10	103 16 0	11	131 14 0
Neat Cattle	37	210 7 0	35	232 8 0	39	224 10 0
Sheep	453	351 14 0	445	379 12 0	476	424 0 0
Hogs	34	41 0 0	36	28 10 0	45	58 0 0
Total	534	710 14 0	526	744 6 0	571	838 4 0

APPENDIX 44 (continued)

LIVESTOCK	1785		1786		1787	
	Number	Value	Number	Value	Number	Value
Horses	11	143 7 0	11	151 12 0	9	115 1 0
Neat Cattle	38	238 15 0	33	221 4 0	19	181 19 0
Sheep	613	602 15 0	522	519 11 0	503	498 10 0
Hogs	33	61 18 0	38	55 8 0	45	54 8 0
Total	695	1,046 15 0	604	947 15 0	576	849 18 0

APPENDIX 44 (continued)

LIVESTOCK	1788		1789		1790	
	Number	Value	Number	Value	Number	Value
Horses	7	106 5 0	8	113 6 0	8	113 10 0
Neat Cattle	39	254 2 0	40	252 12 0	43	245 15 0
Sheep	563	554 15 0	567	554 10 0	560	549 10 0
Hogs	40	66 7 0	40	64 2 0	45	60 15 0
Total	649	981 9 0	655	984 10 0	656	969 10 0

APPENDIX 44 (continued).

LIVESTOCK	1791		1792		1793	
	Number	Value	Number	Value	Number	Value
Horses	8	151 4 0	8	168 18 0	8	165 0 0
Neat Cattle	43	278 10 0	43	297 16 0	45	293 15 0
Sheep	562	548 0 0	535	551 12 0	544	559 14 0
Hogs	49	77 0 0	47	79 2 0	49	84 0 0
Total	662	1,054 14 0	633	1,097 8 0	646	1,102 9 0

APPENDIX 44 (continued)

LIVESTOCK	1794		1795		1796	
	Number	Value	Number	Value	Number	Value
Horses	9	190 0 0	9	185 0 0	9	190 0 0
Neat Cattle	42	264 4 6	45	287 19 0	38	297 4 0
Sheep	492	506 2 0	496	510 18 0	468	558 14 0
Hogs	44	73 17 6	44	77 14 0	46	89 12 6
Total	587	1,034 4 0	594	1,061 11 0	561	1,135 10 6

APPENDIX 44 (continued)

LIVESTOCK	1797			
	Number.	Value		
Horses	10	205	0	0
Neat Cattle	38	389	10	0
Sheep	385	554	5	0
Hogs	70	170	9	0
Total	503	1,319	4	0

APPENDIX 45: AUDLEY END ESTATE NET INCOME 1754-1791*

YEAR	TANNER (BARK)			UNDERWOOD			RENTS (NET) ⁺			SUNDRY			QUIT RENTS			GREAT TITHES			ARREARS GREAT TITHES			GENERAL COURT BARON FINES			SPECIAL COURT BARON FINES			EXCHANGE RENT			
	£	S	D	£	S	D	£	S	D	£	S	D	£	S	D	£	S	D	£	S	D	£	S	D	£	S	D	£	S	D	
1754	26	11	0	120	1	7½	592	3	10½																						
							748	17	10½	116	0	4¾	88	17	9	245	13	5½	2	11	9	75	12	2	31	12	6				
1755	15	19	0	220	7	10	670	3	4																						
							669	9	1½				79	6	3	240	7	2½				24	3	9	40	0	0				
																						39	5	8	41	12	6				
																								65	6	0					
1756	16	2	0	143	8	4	666	14	4																						
							629	13	7½				81	7	11	236	18	0½				77	10	1	1	10	0				
1757	7	2	0	85	5	0	622	2	7																						
							632	2	7½				77	14	2	242	17	9½				122	12	8	14	19	9				
													10	3	8																
1758	15	12	6	250	18	9	629	6	1½																						
							639	9	1½				77	17	6	241	13	10				136	5	10				2	14	0	
1759	17	2	6	268	6	2½	629	16	1½																						
							639	9	1½	10	0	82	15	2	232	5	5½				145	0	2				2	14	0		
																											26	5	0		
1760	18	2	6	351	9	5	632	6	7½																						
							639	8	7½	7	10	81	2	2	240	15	4				126	1	8				2	14	0		
										6	0																				
TOTAL	116	11	6	1439	17	2	9041	3	1½	117	4	2¾	579	4	7	1680	11	1½	2	11	9	746	12	0	195	0	9	34	7	0	

YEAR	TANNER			UNDERWOOD			RENTS (NET)			SUNDRY			QUIT RENTS			GREAT TITHES			ARREARS GREAT TITHES			GENERAL COURT BARON FINES			SPECIAL COURT BARON FINES			EXCHANGE RENT
	£	S	D	£	S	D	£	S	D	£	S	D	£	S	D	£	S	D	£	S	D	£	S	D	£	S	D	
1761	20	18	6	316	6	5 $\frac{3}{4}$	687	2	10 $\frac{1}{2}$																			
							696	15	10 $\frac{1}{2}$				80	2	0	236	18	4				208	10	11	16	0	0	
1762	39	0	0	237	2	7	648	12	7 $\frac{1}{2}$																12	0	0	
							690	15	7 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	1	0	80	0	9	229	0	8 $\frac{1}{2}$				47	16	10				
1763	45	0	0	279	2	6	697	12	7 $\frac{1}{2}$																			
							707	15	7 $\frac{1}{2}$	3	6	3	80	1	11	234	0	3 $\frac{1}{2}$				109	4	8				
										26	12	9																
1764	186	18	0	576	9	3	707	11	1 $\frac{1}{2}$																			
							717	4	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	2	0	0	80	5	7 $\frac{1}{2}$	239	18	11 $\frac{1}{2}$				126	16	9				
										2	8	0																
1765	75	5	0	382	12	3	694	17	3																			
							700	18	3				80	10	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	242	8	4				41	17	6				
1766	49	0	0	303	2	10 $\frac{1}{2}$	695	19	3																			
							698	16	3	4	0		80	7	11	247	6	2				63	14	9				
1767	30	9	0	228	5	6	695	17	9																			
							718	0	4 $\frac{1}{2}$				80	10	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	243	10	8 $\frac{1}{2}$				89	11	3				
1768	36	2	6	240	19	6	718	6	10 $\frac{1}{2}$																			
							718	6	10 $\frac{1}{2}$				80	12	11 $\frac{1}{2}$	235	19	7				65	19	8				
TOTAL	482	13	0	2564	0	11 $\frac{1}{4}$	10194	13	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	35	12	0	642	11	5	1909	3	1				753	12	4	28	0	0	

YEAR	TANNER			UNDERWOOD			RENTS (NET)			SUNDRY			QUIT RENTS			GREAT TITHES			ARREARS GREAT TITHES			GENERAL COURT BARON FINES			SPECIAL COURT BARON FINES			EXCHANGE RENT			PURCHASED RENTS			AUDLEY END WATER MILL		
	£	S	D	£	S	D	£	S	D	£	S	D	£	S	D	£	S	D	£	S	D	£	S	D	£	S	D	£	S	D	£	S	D			
1769	44	10	0	295	18	7½	722	6	10½				722	16	10½	81	2	0½	242	11	6½	128	1	8												
1770	51	10	0	268	14	1½	725	1	10½				725	1	10½	80	17	2½	241	9	5½	71	16	4			8	7	6	90	15	6	16	2	9	
																										7	17	0	107	13	6	16	13	3		
1771	40	11	3	274	4	4	726	6	7½				704	12	0	80	13	2½	244	19	6	75	7	2			7	17	0	127	11	9	16	13	3	
																										7	16	0	128	7	6	15	17	6		
1772	48	13	6	320	18	1½	704	2	0				723	4	7½	80	14	8½	250	15	2	186	9	0			7	16	0	120	16	0	15	17	6	
																										7	17	0	127	3	6	16	13	3		
1773	46	1	3	402	6	9	705	18	7½				706	13	7½	79	14	4½	252	9	2½	14	2	11			7	4	6	128	7	9	16	13	3	
																										7	4	6	130	8	3	16	13	3		
1774	53	2	10	266	19	1½	703	16	1½				704	14	1½	81	10	0½	257	11	5½	159	14	6			6	4	6	141	10	3	16	13	3	
																										6	4	6	180	5	3	16	13	3		
1775	51	0	3	347	10	11½	704	14	1½	43	13	1½	704	14	1½	81	19	4	254	2	10			39	0	0	6	4	6	166	0	9	16	13	3	
																										6	4	6	166	3	9	16	13	3		
1776	88	9	7½	314	0	6	691	5	7½	78	14	4	669	3	6	70	14	3	255	3	2½	60	18	3			6	4	6	145	11	6	16	13	3	
																										13	1	6	131	4	6	15	17	6		
1777	101	2	7½	411	0	10	677	10	0	31	18	10	660	18	0	70	9	7	254	14	2½	134	0	8			13	1	6	122	12	0	15	17	6	
																										13	11	6	121	16	0	15	17	6		
1778	126	10	0	439	1	0	735	10	0				734	15	0	2	2	0	70	10	11½	251	14	11½	90	2	9	14	14	0	122	16	0			
																										14	14	0	122	16	0					
TOTAL	651	11	4	3340	14	4½	14153	5	7½	603	4	4½	778	5	8½	2505	11	6½				1217	0	1½	39	0	0	162	4	6	2381	19	9	262	2	9

YEAR	TANNER			UNDERWOOD			RENTS (NET) DEMESNE			SUNDRY			QUIT RENTS			GREAT TITHES			ARREARS GREAT TITHES			GENERAL COURT BARON FINES			SPECIAL COURT BARON FINES			EXCHANGE RENTS			PURCHASE RENTS			PURCHASED THOMAS PENNYSTONE		
	£	S	D	£	S	D	£	S	D	£	S	D	£	S	D	£	S	D	£	S	D	£	S	D	£	S	D	£	S	D	£	S	D			
1789	110	14	0	405	18	2	777	9	2															30	0	0	20	12	9	193	8	8	76	17	4	
							777	14	2	1	8	8	63	6	5	298	2	1				160	17	3	24	11	0	20	12	9	193	11	2	76	17	4
1790	70	2	6	380	14	3½	777	14	2																	20	12	9	191	11	8	76	17	4		
							777	14	2	1	9	8	62	18	7	297	13	6½				49	10	1			20	12	9	191	11	8	76	17	4	
										10	3	0																								
1791	70	8	6	257	3	6	777	14	2													1	0	0	128	0	6	19	14	9	194	1	8	76	17	4
							777	14	2	2	19	8	62	19	10	445	7	10				93	1	4			19	14	9	193	17	8	76	17	4	
TOTAL	251	5	0	1043	15	11½	4666	0	0	16	1	0	189	4	10	1041	3	5½				304	8	8	182	11	6	122	0	6	1158	2	6	461	4	0

APPENDIX 45 (continued)

	£.	s.	d.
Land rents (all sections)	60,798	18	0 $\frac{1}{2}$
Audley End water mill	262	2	9
Tanner (bark sales)	2,165	19	1
Underwood (sales)	11,999	16	6 $\frac{1}{2}$
Quit rents	2,869	19	5 $\frac{1}{2}$
General court baron (fines)	4,507	4	3 $\frac{1}{2}$
Special " " "	826	10	0
Great tithes	9,741	2	8 $\frac{1}{2}$
Sundry sources	1,129	1	2 $\frac{1}{4}$
<hr/>			
Total	94,300	14	0 $\frac{3}{4}$
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*

APPENDIX 46 : AUDLEY END ESTATE DISBURSEMENTS 1754-1791.

YEAR	1st HALF YEAR			2nd HALF YEAR			TOTAL		
	£	s	d	£	s	d	£	s	d
1754	505	12	3	663	3	2½	1,168	15	5½
1755	532	6	1½	531	10	9	1,063	16	10½
1756	518	0	5½	558	12	4½	1,076	12	10
1757	496	11	1	558	3	8½	1,054	14	9½
1758	506	8	2	582	19	10½	1,089	8	0½
1759	513	3	0	634	6	3	1,147	9	3
1760	545	14	1½	544	17	1½	1,090	11	3
1761	522	4	7	570	7	4½	1,092	11	11½
1762	515	4	7	554	15	3	1,069	19	10
1763	546	8	8½	565	19	0½	1,112	7	9
1764	577	9	2½	571	14	7	1,149	3	9½
1765	580	14	8½	590	18	5	1,171	13	1½
1766	610	15	0	542	17	3	1,153	12	3
1767	520	0	0½	582	14	8½	1,102	14	9
1768	656	16	7	546	0	7½	1,202	17	2½
1769	530	7	10	569	16	5½	1,100	4	3½
1770	566	4	10	679	12	1½	1,245	16	11½
1771	681	16	8	691	15	2½	1,373	11	10½
1772	734	16	0	674	1	0½	1,408	17	0½
1773	650	3	3½	671	2	2½	1,321	5	6
1774	632	8	3	893	4	11	1,525	13	2
1775	1,045	8	0½	990	4	8½	2,035	12	9
1776	928	14	3	455	17	4½	1,384	11	7½

* D/DBy A293-196.

APPENDIX 46 (continued)

YEAR	1st HALF YEAR			2nd HALF YEAR			TOTAL		
	£	s	d	£	s	d	£	s	d
1777	1,052	14	3½	1,283	3	4	2,335	17	7½
1778	307	0	7	319	15	8	626	16	3
1779	256	0	4½	364	2	11½	620	3	4
1780	282	10	8	311	0	1½	593	10	9½
1781	259	7	1	257	12	0½	516	19	1½
1782	234	19	7	280	16	3½	515	15	10½
1783	291	13	6	253	19	2½	545	12	8½
1784	263	5	9½	266	17	8½	530	3	6
1785	268	2	0½	381	18	5½	650	0	6
1786	360	5	4	376	18	4½	737	3	8½
1787	313	2	5	315	10	6	628	12	11
1788	280	4	7	336	1	2	616	5	9
1789	271	14	0	310	7	5	582	1	5
1790	329	6	10	360	4	5¾	689	11	3¾
1791	291	13	2	308	13	8	600	6	10
							38,931	4	0¼

PART VII : BIBLIOGRAPHY

1...Primary : Contemporary Sources

- (a) Manuscript
- (b) Printed

2. Secondary : Modern Works

- (a) Theses and unpublished dissertations.
- (b) Articles
- (c) Books
- (d) Works of Reference

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Contemporary Sources.

(a) Manuscripts.

Audley End House Library.

Family Scrapbook - a large volume of drawings and designs;
Photographic copy in Essex Record Office, catalogued E.R.O. T/B 125.

Berkshire Record Office.

Aldworth-Neville Papers D/EN.

Original will of Henry Grey 1732; F21
Copy of marriage settlement between Lord Lymington (1st Earl of Portsmouth) and the Hon. Mrs. Grey 1741; F22
Will of R.N.Neville 1793; F40
Journal of a Tour in Switzerland 1743-4; F54
Diaries of R.N.Neville (formerly R.N.Aldworth) 1773, 1776, 1780, 1782; F55/1-2
Copy or draft (incomplete) will of R.N.Neville c 1780; F56
Receipts etc. lighthouses at Orfordness and Winterton in Suffolk and Norfolk; F61

British Museum.

Additional MSS:

Add.	{ 29562, ff.174, 372; 29565, f.164; 29568, ff.71,113,192,208,210,217,219;
Newcastle	{ 32886, f.25; 32892, f.129; 32893, ff.275,291; 32902, f.74; 32904, f.62; 32912, ff.193,453; 32915, f.192; 32975, ff.136,145,156; 33034, f.73; 33056, f.131;
Morant	34650, ff.52-9, 138;
Hardwicke	{ 35509, f.241; 35538, f.238; 35642, f.232; 36133, f.95;
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Journals of Common Council Nos. 71 & 73.

Drummonds Bank.

Bank Ledgers 1763-1797: 34 volumes; account ledgers of Sir John Griffin Griffin, 4th Lord Howard de Walden.

Essex Record Office.A. Quarter Sessions Records.(a) Sessions Bundles:Church repairs Saffron Walden, 1791
Sessions bundles, 1793-1797

Q/SEb 343.

Q/SEb 350-368.

(b) Highways-diversion, closure and widening.Highway diversions, 1762 and 1773
Highway diversions, 1780-81

Q/RH1 2.

Q/RH1 3.

(c) Deposited plans of public undertakings.

London-Cambridge Junction Canal, 1811

Q/RUM 1/17.

(d) Enclosure Awards

Saffron Walden

Q/RDC 25A.

B. Lieutenancy Records.Journal of Mr. Tanner, probably chief clerk to the
Clerk of the General Meetings, from 12 November
1796 to 14 January 1797

L/C 7.

General Meetings of Lieutenancy

L/M 22-36.

C. Vice Admiralty Records.Copy of commission of Vice Admiralty, by letters
patent, to John Griffin, Lord Howard de Walden,
vice the Earl of Rochford deceased, 1 May 1795

L/V 1/1.

D. Estate and Family Archives.(a) Manorial Records.Manor of Walden alias Chipping Walden in Saffron Walden:

Minute Book (index), 1748-1757

D/DAd 8.

Court Book (index), 1748-1767

D/DAd 9.

Court Book (index), 1768-1788

D/DAd 10.

Court Book (index), 1789-1808

D/DAd 11.

Manor of Brooke Walden in Saffron Walden:

Court Book (index), 1747-1788

D/DAd 35.

Court Book (index), 1789-1830

D/DAd 36.

Minute Book (index), 1747-1758

D/DAd 38.

Manors of Chipping and Brooke Walden in Saffron Walden:

Survey with annotations, 1758-1797 D/Dad 44.
 Fine Book, 1745-1823 (from 1756 Brooke and Chipping
 Walden only) D/Dad 45.

(b) Maps

Saffron Walden and Littlebury, 1783 D/DQy 8.
 River Cam and Grants, 1788 D/DQy 9.
 Saffron Walden and Ashdon (Ross Farm), c1800 (photograph) D/DQy 11.
 Saffron Walden (Butlers Farm) (photograph) D/DQy 12.
 Saffron Walden and Ashdon (St. Aylett's Farm) (photograph) D/DQy 13.
 Saffron Walden and Ashdon (Monks Hall Farm) (photograph) D/DQy 14.
 Saffron Walden and Little Chesterford c1758 (Westley Farm) D/DU 120.

(c) Miscellaneous.

Two poems written in connection with the Parliamentary
 Election of July 1763 in support of the candidature of
 John Conyers, 1763. D/DPr 566.
 Printed sale catalogue of the household goods of Lord
 Suffolk at Audley End, 1745 D/DPr 570.
 Pedigree of Suffolk family, 1745 D/DPr 571.
 Abstract of title, of family settlement and legal
 charges for the Suffolk family, c.1745 D/DPr 572-574.
 Printed case of Sir John Griffin Griffin laid before
 the Lords Committee of Priveleges, 1784 D/DPr 575.

E. Miscellaneous.(a) Material for Parish Histories.

Storm in Saffron Walden, 1792 (newspaper cuttings) T/P 68/6.

(b) Maps.

Saffron Walden (Audley End Farm), 1758 (photograph) T/M 123.
 Saffron Walden (Pounce Hall), 1758 (photograph) T/M 124.
 Audley End House, Gardens and Park, 1666 (photograph) T/M 172.
 (original P.R.O. MPE 366).

F. The Chelmsford and Colchester Chronicle, 1764-1797*

T/B 171/ 1-10.

Microfilm copies:

171/1 1764-1768;	171/6 1784-1786;
171/2 1769-1771;	171/7 1787-1789;
171/2a 1772-1773;	171/8 1790-1791;
171/3 1774-1776;	171/9 1792-1794;
171/4 1777-1779;	171/10 1795-1797;
171/5 1780-1783;	

* The series is not quite complete and there are some missing numbers during the period.

Braybrooke Collection - D/DBy.(a) Manorial.

Index list of tenants to court books, c 1775	M41
Draft court books, 1731-1740, and 1747-1763	M55-71

(b) Deeds.

Owner's schedule bundles 1-47, purchases 1753-1775	T1/1-856
Owner's schedule bundles 48-93, purchases 1779-1797	T4/1-689
Owner's schedule bundles 1-35, exchanges 1760-1795	T5/1-35
Owner's schedule bundles 50-56B, Pennystone estates 1742-1789	T6/50-56B
Messuages and land in Littlebury, copyhold of the manor of Littlebury, 1690-1778	T9/1
Settlement on the intended marriage of Ann Mary Schutz and John Griffin Griffin, 1748	T10/1
Copies of the deed of partition between the Earl of Bristol, the Earl and Countess of Portsmouth, William and Ann Whitwell and John Griffin Griffin and wife and others of the whole estate	T10/2
Settlement on the marriage of Katherine Clayton and Sir John Griffin Griffin, 1765	T10/11
Deeds relating to the jointure of the Dowager Lady Suffolk, 1747-48	T10/12
Miscellaneous family settlements relating to lands in Essex, Cambridgeshire and Northamptonshire, 1747-1811	T10/13
Wills including that of the Countess of Portsmouth	T11/1
Lands and tenements in Ely etc.	T15
House with adjoining stable and coach house at Bedford Circus, Exeter, including correspondence, 1760-1789	T18
Site of Braybrooke Castle with mansion house and lands, including particulars of the manor and lordship of Braybrooke, with names acreages and rentals etc., 1649-1799	T26
Land and messuage in Suffolk, 1785	T29

(c) Family Papers

- Copy of royal grant to Edward Lord Griffin of the title of Baron Braybrooke, 1688. F29
- Correspondence, including an account of the family written by James Lord Griffin to his son, 1700-1769. F30
- Schedule of deeds and papers belonging to Elizabeth, Countess of Portsmouth, post 1754. F31
- Accounts and correspondence relating to the estate of Rear Admiral Whitwell, brother of Sir John Griffin Griffin, 1779-1797. F32
- Extracts of the will of Sir John Griffin Griffin, 1796. F33
- Copy of settlement, 1759, on the marriage of Comte de Walderen and Ann Whitwell, 1770. F34A
- Case and proceedings relating to James Griffin's private Bill for settling estates (Braybrooke, Northamptonshire), 1641-1720. F45
- Summary statement of annual expenditure upon Audley End and its estates, 1749-1792. F46
- Papers relating to the descent of the manor and castle of Braybrooke, Northamptonshire, 1788-c1800 F47
- Letter with an opinion on the title to the Griffin estates, 1761. F48
- Letter from Mowbray Herald, with notes of searches at the Auditors' Office about the office of Treasurer of the Chamber, 1770. F49
- Original will of Henry Grey and copy, 1732. F52
- Pedigree of "The Ancient Family of the Griffins of Balder Tyme" (1602). F55/1
- "The Second Part of the Pedigree of the Ancient and Noble Family of Griffin of Braybrooke" (1790). F55/2

(d) Correspondence.

- (i) Richard Aldworth Neville - C1-1739-1759;
C2-1760-1764;
C3-1765-1793;
- (ii) Richard Aldworth Neville,
2nd Lord Braybrooke - C5-1779-1796;
C6-1797-1825;
- (iii) John Griffin Griffin - C8,9,10,30 & 31-1753-1795;

(e) Estate.

Papers relating to the payment of the debts of Charles William, Earl of Suffolk, including six half yearly rentals and a printed copy of the Act for raising the necessary sum by sale of mortgage, 1721-1727.	E5
Proposed copy of the above Act, 1727.	E6
Legal papers in connection with the partition of the estate, 1745-1750.	E7
Draft of the division of the estate, 1747-1753.	E8
Detailed particulars of the Audley End estate of Henry, Earl of Suffolk at the time of the division by the co-heirs, 1748.	E9
Volume containing copy of deeds of covenants with detailed schedules of deeds to be produced by George William, Lord Hervey, Earl of Bristol, to the Earl of Suffolk's estates in Essex, 1745.	E10
Detailed index reference books, c1760.	E12-13
Particulars of lands exchanged between Sir John Griffin Griffin and the Saffron Walden Almhouses in pursuance of an Act passed 1764.	E14
Particulars of lands in Blackland Shott, Saffron Walden, 1784.	E15
Particulars of lands rented and purchased by Thomas Pennystone, 1785.	E16
Miscellaneous papers and correspondence concerning the Essex estate, 1638-1857.	E19
Roadway diversion papers 1763-1772; rentals 1727-1728; account of estate purchased 1785; account of wood sold 1756-1772; estate papers relating to valuation and enfranchisement 1677-c1775.	E20
Highway diversion order by Warren Hill and Pepperage Lane, 1781.	E32/1
Newspaper cuttings relating to the proposed Stort-Cam Navigation, 1788-1790.	E33
Letters received by Lady Portsmouth about the disputed title to the Audley End estate, with an opinion on the validity of earlier settlements, 1745-1747.	E38

Correspondence relating to proposed purchases and exchanges of property in Littlebury and Saffron Walden by Sir John Griffin Griffin, 1783-1793. E40

Letters concerning the settlement of Lord Effingham's claims upon the Audley End estate, 1759-1753. E41

Estimate of value of land, timber, deer and water mill in and belonging to Audley End Park etc. c.1750-c.1760. E42

Letter with opinions on the division of tithes in Saffron Walden, 1755. E43

Survey of plantations, giving numbers and types of trees and dates when planted, post 1790. E44

Letters and papers relating to lighthouses and duties payable to them, including a printed receipt giving lists of lights and a table of rates of dues, 1822-1836. E50

(f) Accounts

Three small volumes of original receipts signed by servants for wages, 1755-1773, and 1784-1791. A11-14

Annual parcels of housekeeping and estate voucher bundles (1762-1764). A15-17

Parcel with contemporary endorsement "Housekeeping Books at Audley House from the year 1765 to 1769". A18-22

Annual parcels of general (household and estate) and farm vouchers, each parcel containing twelve monthly bundles (1765-1797). A23-A55

Monthly general accounts, arranged by subjects, indexed at beginning of each volume. (31 vols.) (1765-1797) (1795 and 1796 missing). A196-226

Day books of masons, plasterers, carvers, carpenters, engineers, bricklayers, employed at Audley End. Full details of work, labour and materials. (18 paper vols). (1763-1767). A241-258

Very detailed accounts of work carried out at Audley End by bricklayers, masons, statuary workers, slaters, carpenters, joiners, ironmongers, plasterers, glaziers, plumbers, painters and smiths. Precise details of work carried out, material used and part of building concerned (1763-1764). A259

Monthly carpenters' accounts, details of repairs, alterations, etc., to Audley End Mansion, park and gardens, on the estate generally and in Walden Church (1784-1790). A260

Annual accounts of carpenters' work at Audley End, indexed to "jobs" at the beginning of each year. Full details of material and labour. At end reversed schedules of materials in stock and quantities used annually (1784-1794).	A261
Audley End monthly farm accounts, 1772-1803.	A262-264
Vouchers for farm accounts, 1797.	A272
Annual farm and estate balance sheets, 1775-1809.	A291
Half yearly estate audit, general, quit rent and timber accounts, 1748-1792.	A292-296
Osier vouchers and accounts, 1782-1784.	A297
Corn Book, 1790-1805.	A316
Loose bills for demolition and repairs carried out at Audley End for the Countess of Portsmouth and details of materials sold, 1753.	A364
Bills for work at Audley End carried out under the direction of Robert Adam, 1762-1768.	A365
Bills for work carried out at Audley End and Saffron Walden Church under the direction of William Ivory, 1784-1794.	A366
Miscellaneous bills, 1715-1833.	A367
Lady Portsmouth's pass book with Andrew Drummond, 1740-1753.	A369
Lord Howard's account with Messers Drummond and Co., 1790-1795.	A370
Lady Howard's account as executrix for late husband's will, 1797.	A371
Richard A. Neville in account with Messers Hoare and Co., 1790-1822.	A373
Miscellaneous bonds and bills of exchange, Lord Braybrooke and Messers Hoare and Co., 1783-1822.	A374
Housekeeping 'Contingent Book', 1793-1796.	A377

(g) Legal Papers

Papers connected with the claim of Sir John Griffin Griffin to the title of Lord Howard de Walden, 1784. L2

Miscellaneous correspondence relating to the above case, 1784. L3

Copy of an Act 'for enabling James Griffin, esq., and Edward Griffin son and heir apparent of the said James Griffin to raise money to pay the debts of the said James and to make a settlement for the benefit of themselves and their family', 1711. L6

Printed Act for vesting the Northamptonshire estates and part of the Essex estates of Richard Aldworth Griffin, Lord Braybrooke in Trustees, 1812. L7

(h) Public Office.

Printed proposals for the London and Cambridge Junction Canal, c.1810. O4

Major's commission granted to James Griffin, esq., 1686. O7

Commissions granted to John Griffin Griffin (Whitwell), Lord Braybrooke. These begin in 1739 with his appointment as an Ensign and end in 1796 with the role of Field Marshal (1739-1796). O9

Sealed certificate of the taking of the oath by Lord Howard as Lord Lieutenant of Essex (1784). O 10

Commission to Lord Howard appointing him Lord Lieutenant of Essex (1785). O 11

Copies of correspondence and some original letters in connection with the bread riots at Saffron Walden (1795-1796). O 12

Appointment of Lord Howard as Vice Admiral of Essex (1795). O 13

Sealed orders from the Commissioners of the Admiralty, correspondence, etc., relating to the holding of the office of Vice Admiral (1795-1796). O 14

Appointment of Sir John Griffin Griffin as proxy for the Prince of Brunswick and Luneburg thereby granting him a seat in St. George's, Windsor, to receive installation to the Order of the Bath. O 46

Appointment of 2nd Lord Braybrooke to succeed the 1st Lord Braybrooke as Recorder of Saffron Walden, 1797. O 50

Papers relating to the office of Treasurer of the Chamber held by Sir Edward Griffin and his son Edward after him, 1600-c.1685. O 56

(i) Ecclesiastical.

Printed copies of an Act for repairing the Church of Saffron Walden, 1791.	Q2
Church rate assessments, giving names, arranged by streets, rateable values and assessment, 1792-1796.	Q3-8
Minute books of the proceedings of the meetings of the inhabitants of Saffron Walden concerning Church repairs, 1789-1797.	Q9-14
Notes on parish rates paid for the Audley End estate, 1781.	Q15
Particulars of the Pennystone or Whitbread Charity, c.1825.	Q16
Agreement for staining two glass stained windows for Saffron Walden Church, 1792.	Q21
Brief account of Nonconformity in Saffron Walden, 1665-1811.	Q22
Return of charities in Saffron Walden, 1786.	Q25

(j) Miscellaneous.

Miscellaneous bills and accounts, 1600-1788.	Z6
Papers relating to proposed State Lottery, c.1750.	Z9
Miscellaneous correspondence and papers, 1601-1793.	Z10
M.S.History of Dingley and the Griffin family.	Z41
Miscellaneous papers, including a notebook with some details of expenses on the Walden estate, c.1600-c.1850.	Z44
Notes and extracts relating to Saffron Walden, its abbey, church, castle and manors, c.1700-1836.	Z61

(k) Maps.

Audley End house, gardens and park, c.1750.	P1
Map of Clavering, Uttlesford and Freshwell hundreds, c.1760.	P2
Plans and sections of proposed London-Cambridge canal, 1780.	P3
Plan of proposed Stort-Ouse Canal, 1790.	P4
Plan of Saffron Walden Church, c.1800.	P5
Audley End house, gardens and park, 1666.	T/M 172
A plan of Audley End Farm, c.1750.	T/M 123
An aerial view of Audley End, (copy in E.R.O.).	

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PART VIII : ILLUSTRATIONS.

ILLUSTRATION 1 : SIR JOHN GRIFFIN GRIFFIN
(1719-1797) BY WEST.*

* D/DBy A30/3/72: originally this portrait hung in the Adam Library.



ILLUSTRATION 2 : THE HOWARD PEDIGREE*

* D/DBY F55/2

P E D I G R E E.

Thomas Howard, summoned to Parliament by Writs as Lord Howard of Walden, 39 and 43 Eliz. afterwards created Earl of Suffolk.

Theophilus Lord Howard, of Walden, and Earl of Suffolk, ob. 1640.

Thomas Howard, Earl of Berkshire, died 1669.

Susan Rich, daughter of Henry of Holland, Wife.

James Lord Howard, of Walden, and Earl of Suffolk, Died without issue male, 1688.

Barbara, Daughter of Sir Edward Villiers, 2d. Wife.

The Lady Anne Montague, Daughter of Robert Earl of Manchester, 3d. Wife.

George Howard, succeeded his Brother James, as Earl of Suffolk, and Died 1691.

Henry Howard, succeeded his Brother George, as Earl of Suffolk, and Died 1709.

William Howard.

Philip Howard.

Edward Griffin, Lord Griffin of Braybrooke, Died 1710.

Essex Howard, eldest Daughter and Coheir.

Elizabeth Howard, younger Daughter and Coheir.

Thomas Felton, Esq. afterwards Sir Thomas Felton, Bt.

From this Henry, descended Five Earls of Suffolk, Henry, the last of this Line, Died in 1745.

Crawen Howard.

Charles Howard.

James Griffin, Lord Griffin, of Braybrook, Died 1715.

Anne, Daughter and Heir of Richard Rainsford, Esq.

Elizabeth Felton, only Child and Heir.

John Harvey, Earl of Bristol.

Henry Bowers Howard, Earl of Suffolk and Berkshire, Father of Thomas, the late Earl.

Philip Howard.

Edward Lord Griffin, married Mary Welden, and died, 1742, S. P.

James and Richard Griffin, both Died without Issue.

Elizabeth Griffin, Sister and Coheir, Married first to Henry Grey, Esq. 2d, to John Earl of Portsmouth, and Died without Issue, 1762.

Anne Griffin, Sister and Coheir, married William Whitwell, Esq. and Died 1770.

John Lord Harvey, of Ickworth, Married Mary Le Pell.

John Howard, now Earl of Suffolk and Berkshire.

Essex Griffin, only Child, Died unmarried, in 1738, her Father Living.

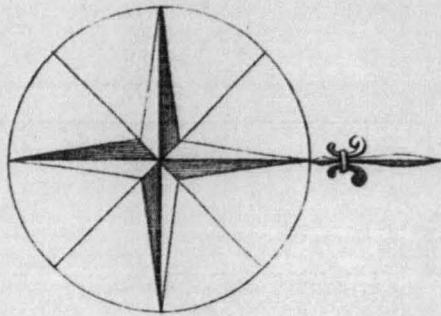
Sir John Griffin Griffin, sole Heir to the Lady Essex, the eldest Daughter and Coheir of James Earl of Suffolk, and One of the Two Coheirs of the Body of Thomas the First Lord Howard of Walden.

Frederick Earl of Bristol, Heir to the Lady Elizabeth, the youngest Daughter and Coheir of James Earl of Suffolk, and One of the Two Coheirs of the Body of Thomas the First Lord Howard of Walden.

ILLUSTRATION 3 : PROJECTED CAM NAVIGATION
WEST OF AUDLEY END HOUSE.*

* D/DBy P3/2.

Engraved by W^m Faden.



Wickham
Bonhunt

unt Farm

North
End

Wendon

Turpik Road
Fishersbottom
bridge

Temple

Littlebury

Budhouse

P. I R R

Shortgrove
Earl of Egremont

Spragwell

JUDLEY PARK

P. M. Gifford Esq.

SAFFRON
WALDEN

from Dunmow

to Linton

Dr. Chaswell Esq.

3.

9 Miles

10 Miles

11 Miles

12 Miles

13 Miles

ILLUSTRATION 4 : PROJECTED CAM NAVIGATION
SOUTH AND EAST OF AUDLEY END HOUSE.*

* D/DBy P4.

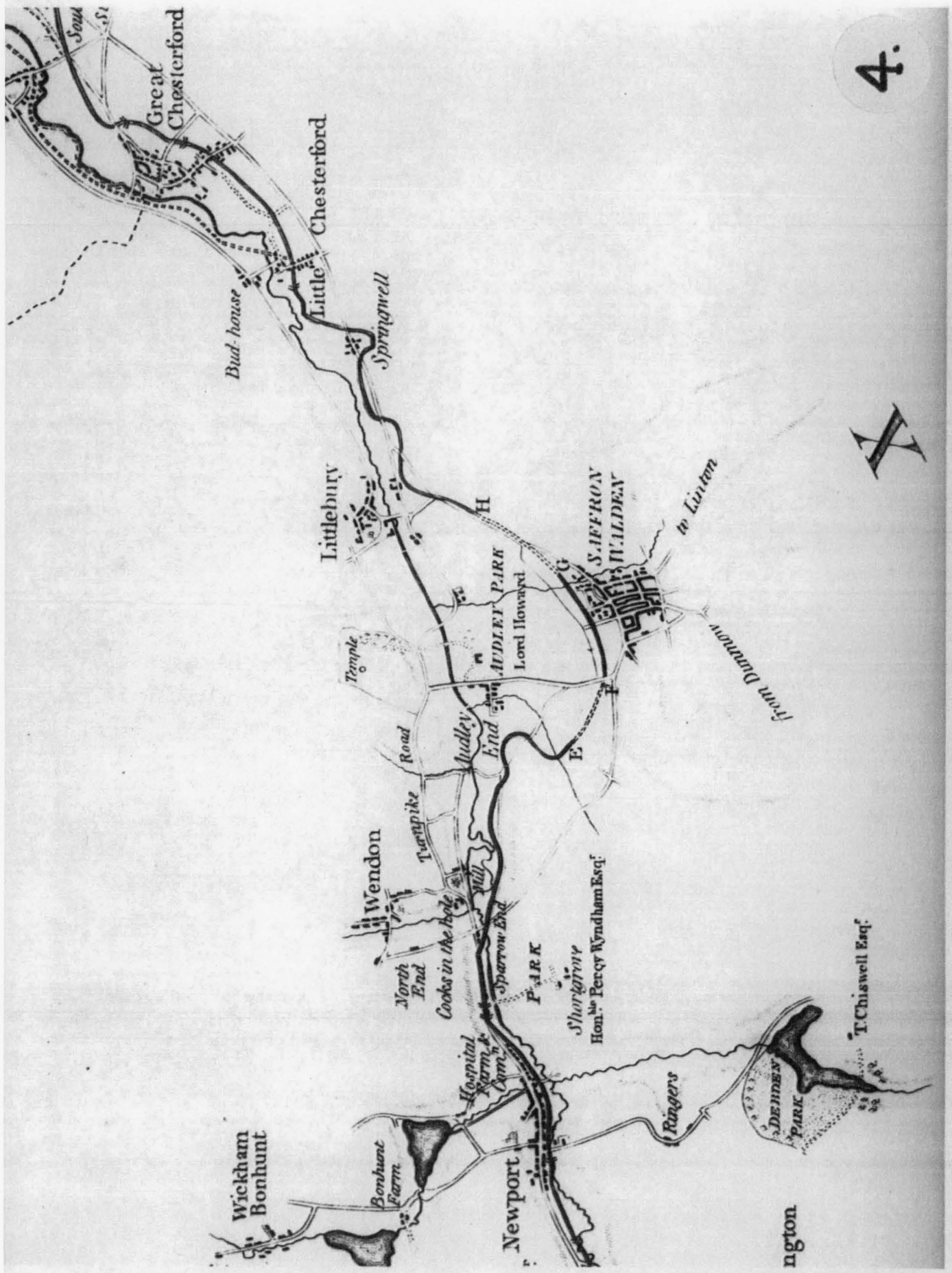
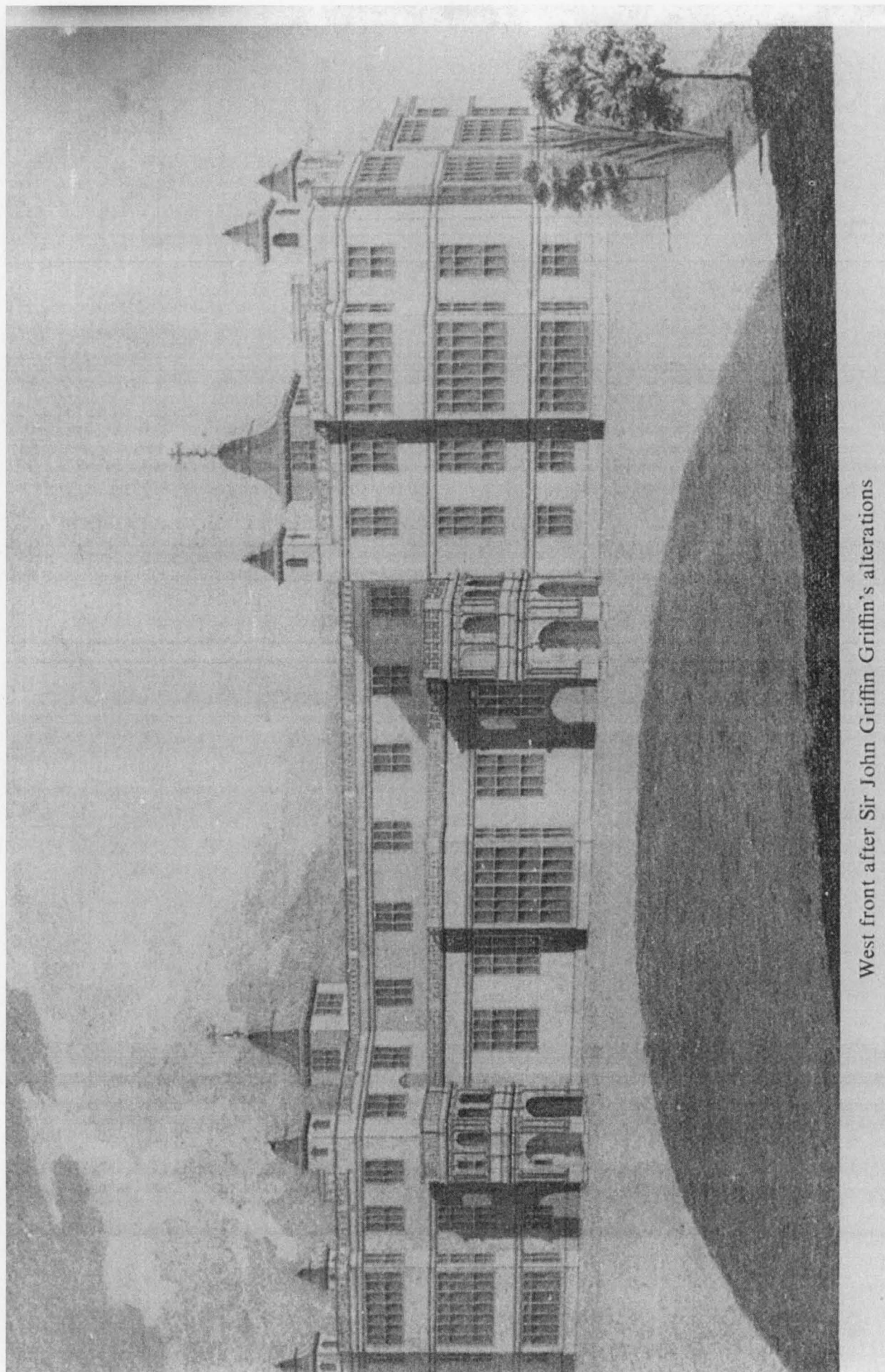


ILLUSTRATION 5 : AUDLEY END HOUSE WEST FRONT AFTER
SIR JOHN GRIFFIN GRIFFIN'S ALTERATIONS.*

* E.R.O. T/B 125/41



West front after Sir John Griffin Griffin's alterations

ILLUSTRATION 6 : PLAN OF GROUND FLOOR
AUDLEY END HOUSE 1787.*

* E.R.O. T/B 125/48

Plan of Grand New Building 1877.

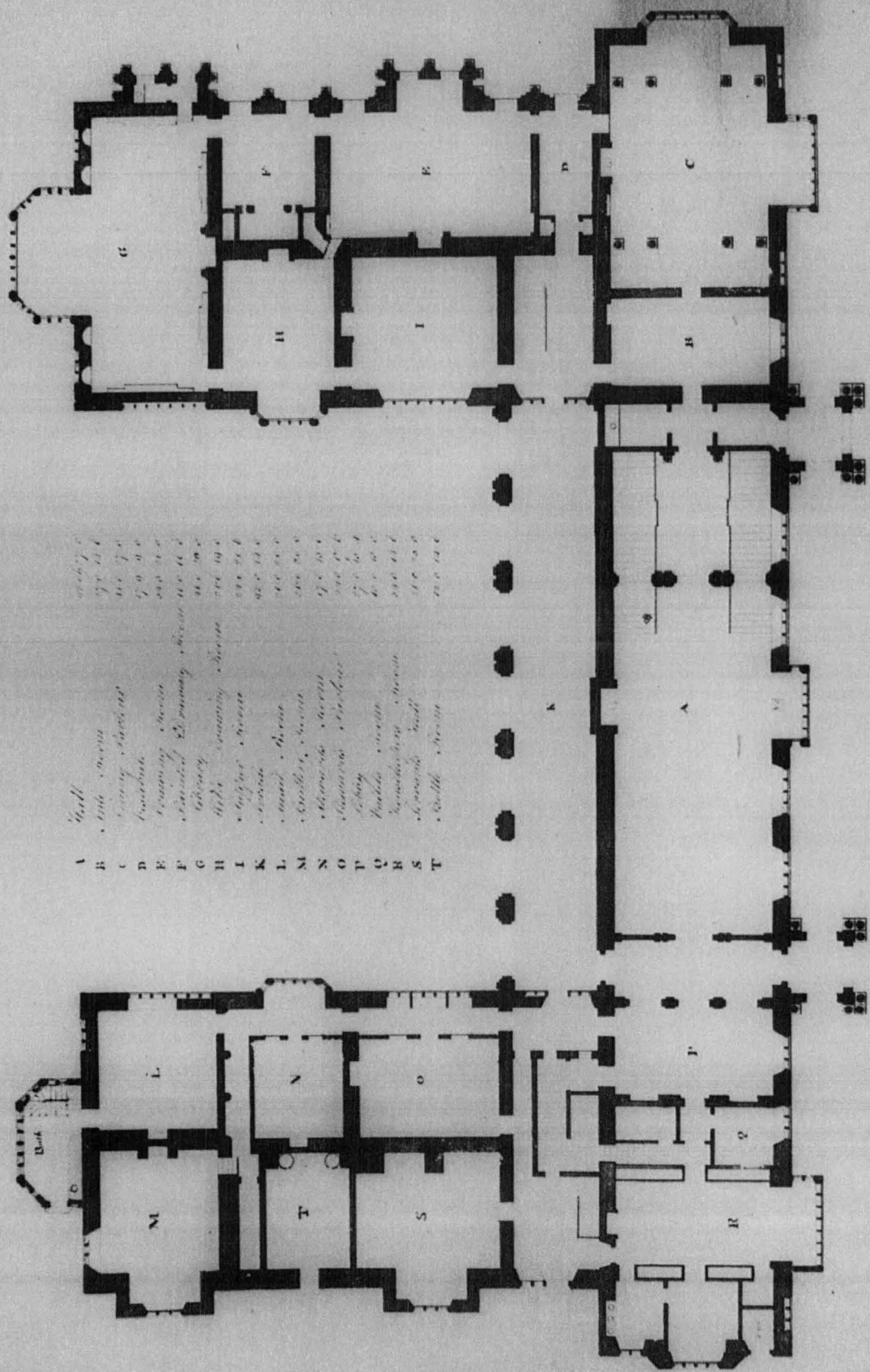
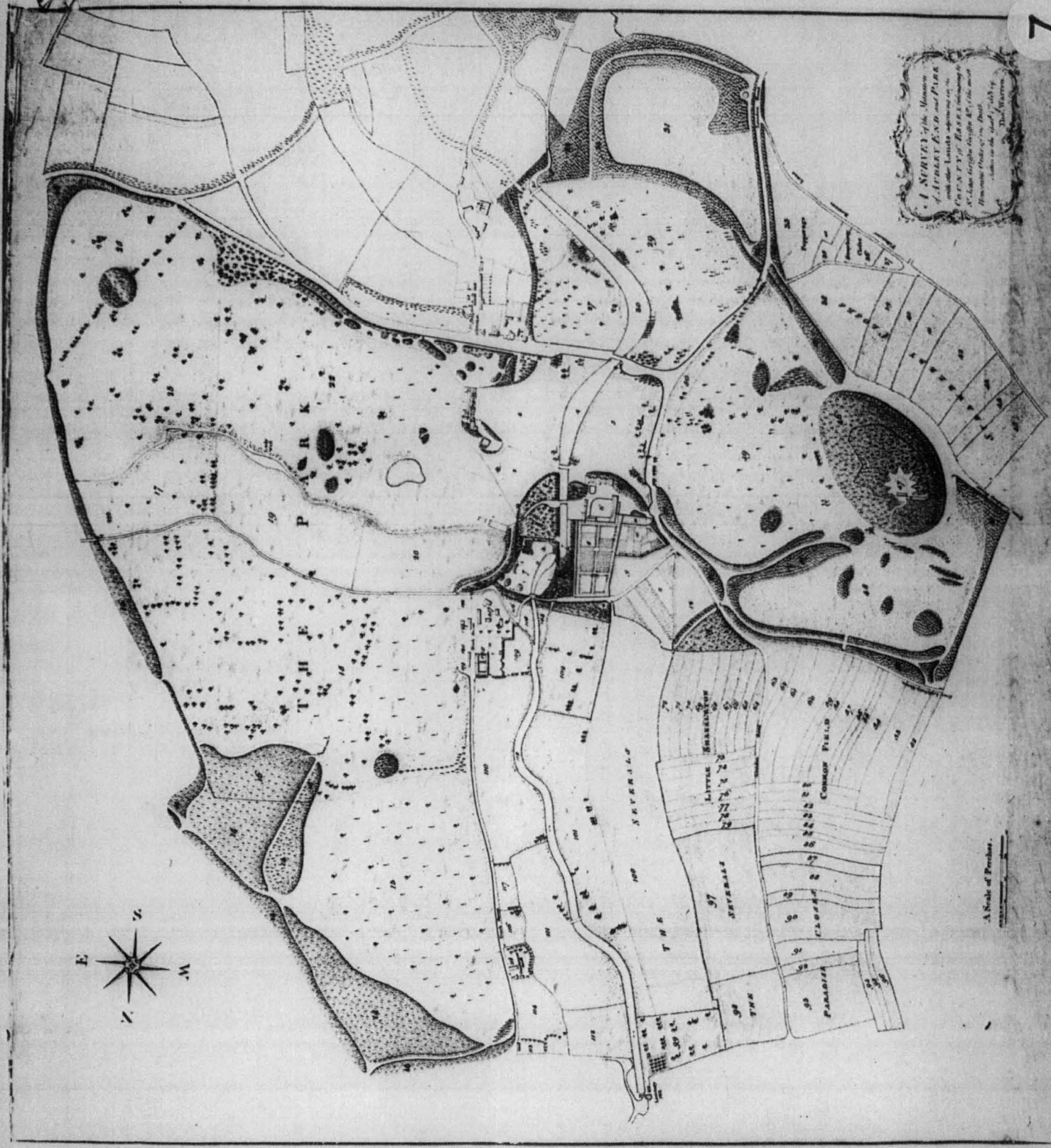


ILLUSTRATION 7 : MAP OF AUDLEY END PARK 1783.*

* E.R.O. D/18y8



A SURVEY of the Manors
of LITTLE END and PARK
with other Lands adjacent to
the City of BUCKINGHAM
by Thomas Digges Esq. 1654.
The Survey was made by
John Digges Esq. 1654.
The Survey was made by
John Digges Esq. 1654.

A Scale of Furlongs.

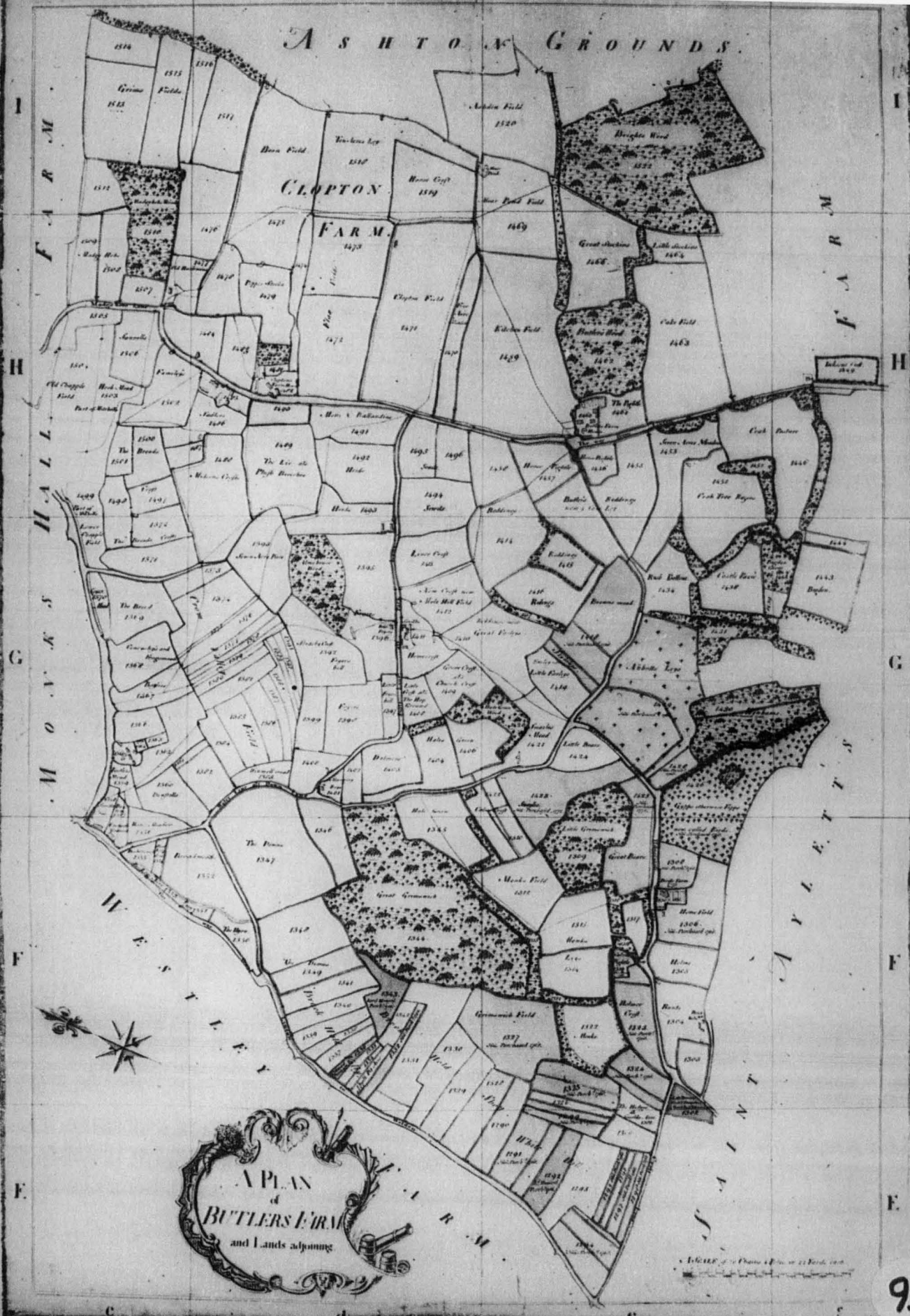
ILLUSTRATION 8 : A PLAN OF AUDLEY END FARM.*

* E.R.O. T/M 123



ILLUSTRATION 9 : A PLAN OF BUTLER'S FARM.*

* E.R.O. D/DQY 12



A PLAN
of
BUTLERS FARM
and Lands adjoining

ILLUSTRATION 10 : A PLAN OF MONK'S HALL FARM.*

* E.R.O. D/Dcy 14

A PLAN
of
Monks-Hall Farm
and Lands adjoining

HADSTOCK COMMON

LITTLE WALDEN PARK.

GREAT CHESTERFORD COMMON

LITTLE CHESTERFORD GROUNDS

GROUNDS

FARM

WATLEY FARM

A SCALE of 100 Yards & 100 Feet & 100 Meters

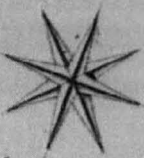


ILLUSTRATION 11 :: A PLAN OF POUNCE HALL FARM.*

* E.R.O. T/M 124

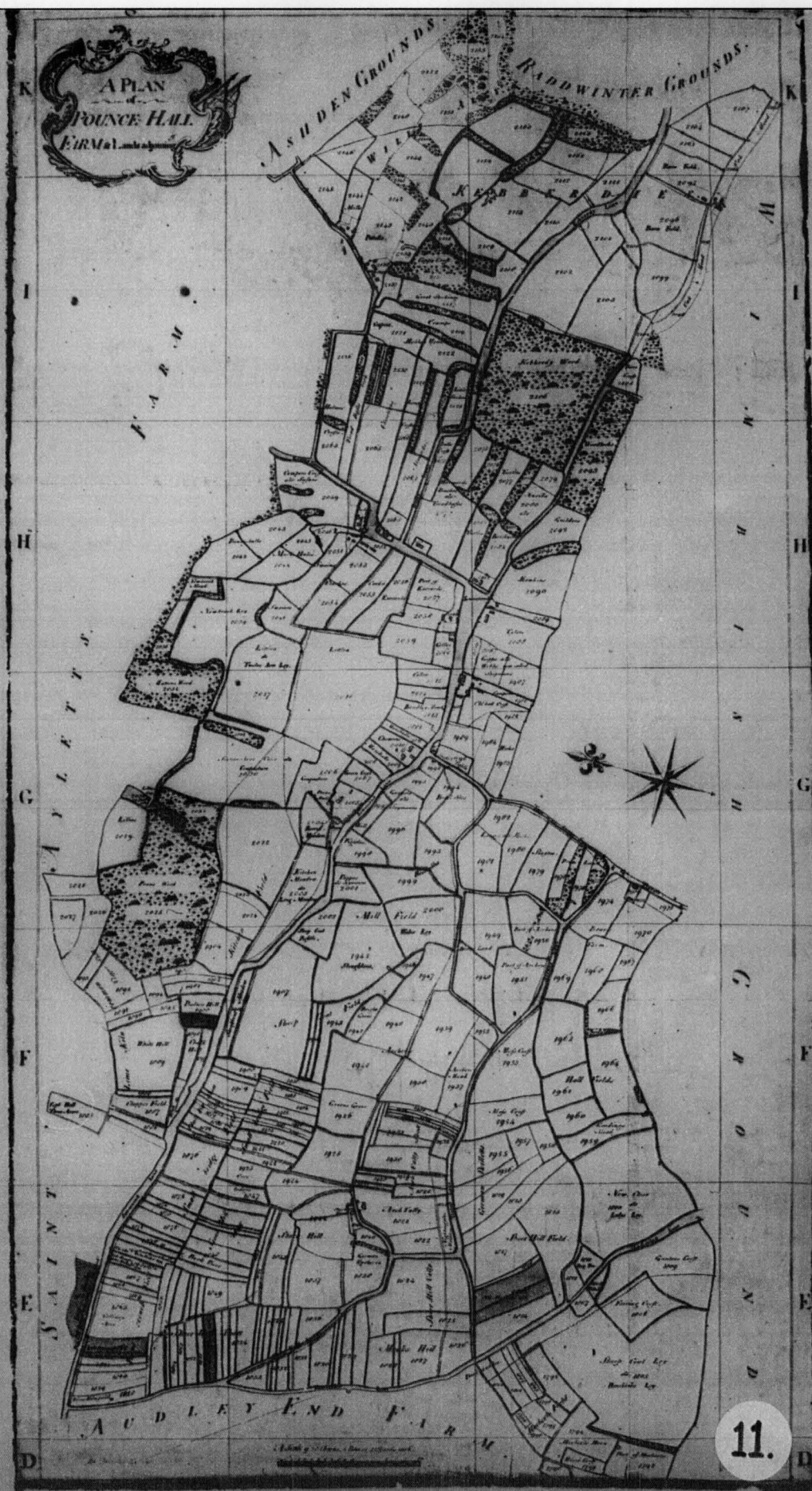


ILLUSTRATION 12 : A PLAN OF ROSS FARM.*

* E.R.O. D/Dcy 11

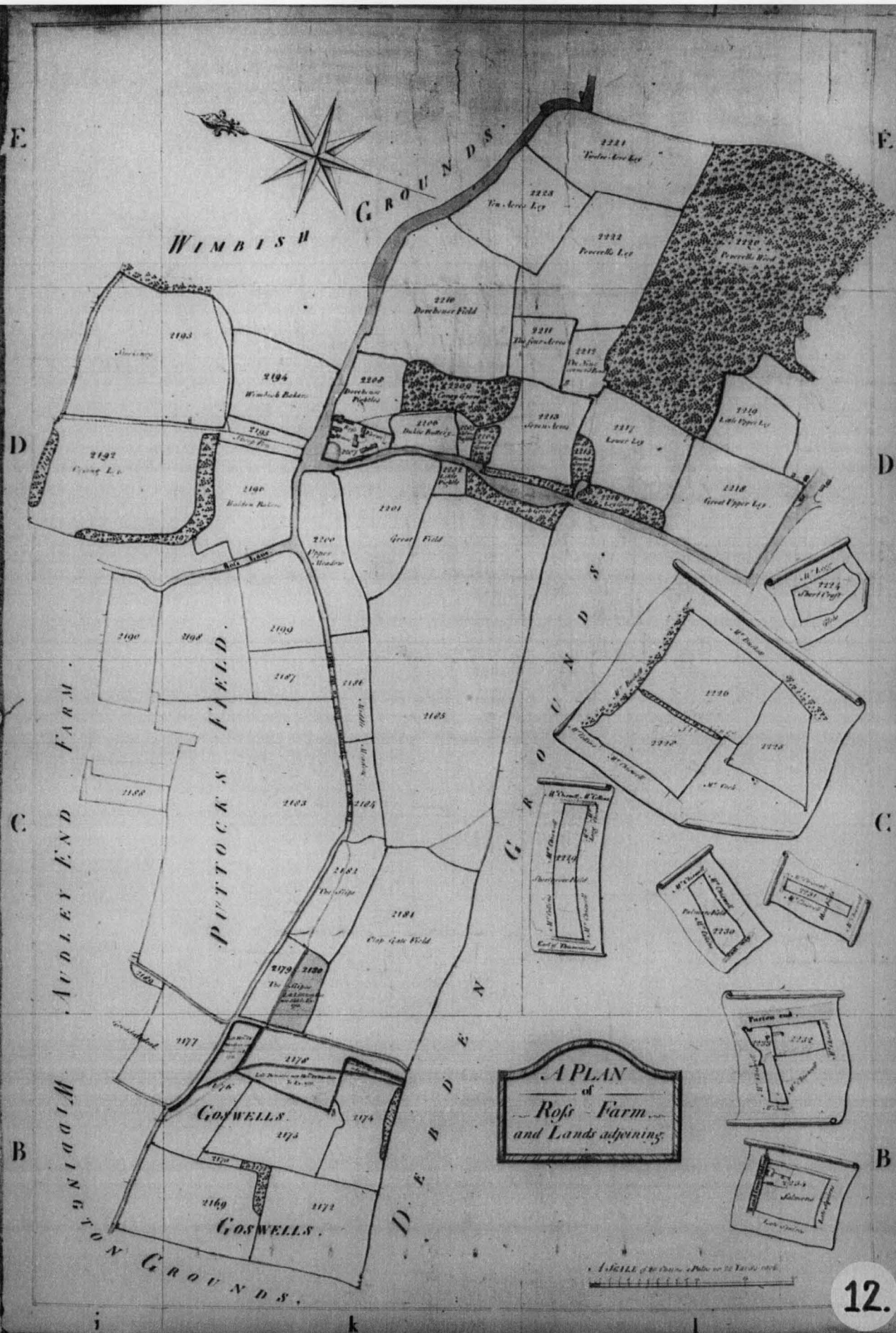


ILLUSTRATION 13 : A PLAN OF ST. AYLOTT'S FARM.*

* E.R.O. D/DQy 13

ILLUSTRATION 14 : A PLAN OF WESTLEY FARM.*

* E.R.O. D/DU 120



ILLUSTRATION 15 : A PLAN OF THE PARISH OF SAFFRON WALDEN
SHOWING THE MAIN FARMS OF THE AUDLEY END *
ESTATE.

* J. King, 1835: see Braybrooke, Audley End, 139.

PLAN
OF THE PARISH OF
SAFFRON WALDEN.

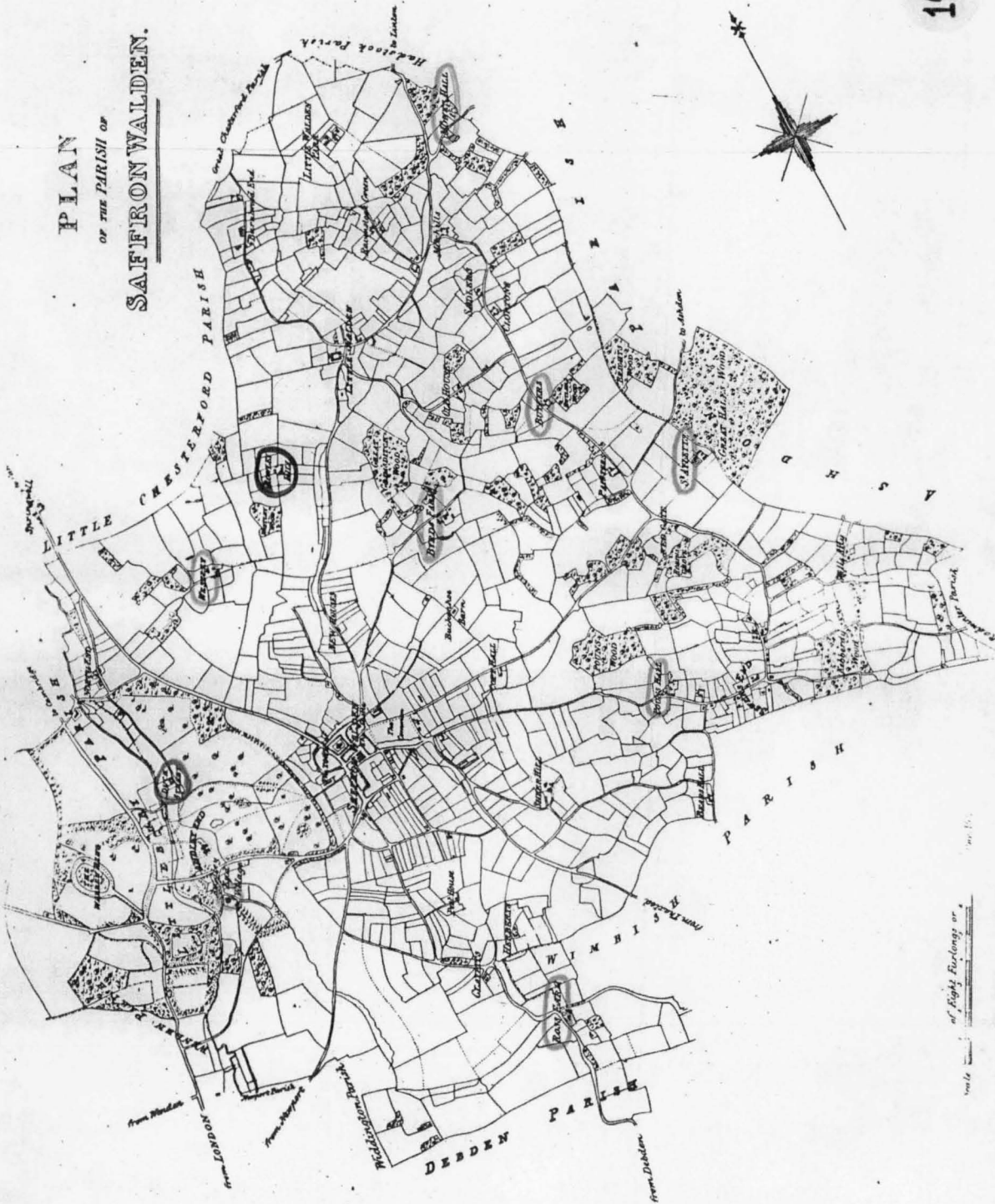


ILLUSTRATION 16 : RIVER CAM AND GRANTA 1788 SHOWING THE
EFFECTS OF GRIFFIN'S ESTATE DEVELOPMENT.*

* E.R.O. D/Dy 9

